Reference to objects in Makhuwa and Swahili discourse

Teresa Poeta

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Linguistics

Department of Linguistics

The School of Oriental and African Studies

University of London

April 2016

Declaration

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of SOAS, University of London concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in this work which I present for examination.

Signed: . . . . . Date: . . . . . .

Abstract

The Bantu languages Swahili (G42, Tanzania) and Makhuwa (P31, Mozambique) show a high degree of structural similarity, but differ significantly with respect to their morphological systems of object marking; whereas Swahili has complex paradigm of object markers based on 15 noun class distinctions, in Makhuwa object markers exist only for two classes (1 and 2). Based on original data from Makhuwa-Meeto and Swahili, the thesis explores the implications of this morphological difference for the discourse structures of the two languages.

Object markers are a central part of anaphoric relations in Bantu languages, and the thesis shows how other elements interact with them in both languages. The results of the study show that the correlation between morphology and discourse is complex; while there are differences in referential density (the ratio between expressed and non-expressed verbal arguments) between Makhuwa and Swahili, both languages exhibit a high degree of object ellipsis. Pronouns fulfil focus-related and emphatic functions in both languages, and so are rarely used for anaphoric reference, but Makhuwa shows a stronger tendency to use full noun phrases in anaphoric contexts.

More generally, the results of the thesis contribute to our understanding of Makhuwa and Swahili object expressions, as well as to a small but growing number of studies on discourse structures in Bantu languages, to the comparative study of Bantu morphosyntax, and to the expression of anaphoric relations in discourse more widely.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgements

Working on this project has been an enriching and intense academic as well as personal experience and I would like to thank everyone who helped me and supported me in any way on this long and sometimes bumpy ride that led to its completion.

The study being a comparison of two languages, I would be nowhere if it wasn't for the kind Makhuwa and Swahili speakers who offered their time and patience to share stories, recipes and language insights with me. An immense thank goes to all of them and especially to Ida, Yusuf, Nina and her *vaavo*, Mohammed, Eduardo and many others.

Some of the most exciting times on this PhD journey happened during my fieldwork in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. For the useful contacts, advice, shelter but mostly for the moral support and friendship I am very grateful to my 'Italian-Mozambican' friends Michela Alderuccio, Sara Stevano and Marina Torre. Many aspects of the fieldwork were made possible also with the kindness and help of Leopoldino, Bonzo and Feda and her family in Munruebbe, and also Narcisio and Fatima. I was lucky enough to meet Abdalla Machude at the IFP in Pemba, who together with his students Rondinho and Ussene contributed hugely to my research by transcribing the Makhuwa data and adding few stories of their own. The inhabitants of the Nanyimbi neighbourhood - my home away from home - have welcomed me among themselves with incredible generosity and I am so grateful to everyone I met during my time there. But it was really Hawa and Tusha who made me feel completely at home and whose contribution goes well beyond the data we recorded. The hours spent together laughing, cooking and talking under the big mango tree are by far the best moments of my whole PhD

experience and are memories I will always treasure. I am forever thankful for everything they have shared with me and for kindly letting me take part in their daily life. During my time in Maputo I benefited from the support of The Centre for African studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University, the talks with Teresa Velhoso from Progresso, the linguistic opinions of Annibal Vittorino, the linguistic help of Vasco and Monica's hospitality. Herminio Generoso has been an irreplaceable consultant on all Makhuwa matters back in the UK and I am most grateful to him for his time, flexibility and kindness.

My PhD research has been made possible with the financial support of the AHRC Doctoral Scheme Studentship and the SOAS and PhilSoc fieldwork bursaries.

The SOAS linguistic department has been my adopted family in the past 5 years and I would like to thank everyone who has been part of it during this time. A special thank for the linguistic discussions and non, for the laughs and shared lunches and for generally keeping me sane to Mike Franjieh, Karolina Grzech, Connor Youngberg, Cephas Delalorm, Charlotte Hemmings, Ebany Dohle, Samantha Goodchild, Hannah Gibson and Rozenn Guerois. Many many friends have patiently listen to PhD related issues for all these years and have made sure I had a life outside of academia and for this I am very grateful to them. Special thanks to Nico, Peter, Nick, Alice, George and the rest of the Benhill road crew, Sagal, Aida, Victor, Bada and Ema.

Many other linguists at SOAS and elsewhere have kindly given their time and advice along the way and I would like to thank especially Candide Simard, Jenneke Van der Wal, Friederike Lüpke, Irina Nikolaeva and Oliver Bond for this. I am also grateful to my wonderful examiners Maud Devos and Melanie Green. It has been an honour having such useful discussions and insightful feedback on my work from two academics I respect immensely.

My (real) family always has my back and I would like to thank my parents who support me no matter what and always have a wise advice to offer and also my uncle Sergio for providing me with a peaceful place to write up my thesis.

The biggest thank of all however goes to four people who have seen this adventure

through with me from beginning to end, each in very different ways.

My supervisor Professor Lutz Marten has provided me with the best guidance a student could wish for and has supported me relentlessly through all my academic and emotional ups and downs. I don't know where I would be without all the fruitful linguistic discussions and long reassuring supervisions, his advice and everlasting optimism. Mwalimu, asante kwa kilu kitu!

My sisters Marta and Milena give me inner strength in life, let alone during my studies. Their encouragement, hugs and supply of chocolate at the right time has pushed me through many difficult moments and I am so lucky to have them.

Last but not least a huge thank to Sandy with whom I have embarked on this madness, who has always been there for me, made the hard bits bearable and helped me take it to the finish line.

Glossing and transcription

Note on glossing conventions The glosses in all the examples follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel et al. 2004) and the abbreviations used are listed in the next section.

Glossing of examples from other sources was modified from the original for consistency when necessary. If an example from another source was unglossed in the original, glosses were added where possible.

Numbers 1-18 used in the glossing of Bantu languages denote the class of the noun. They are used on their own when referring to the noun class prefix in a noun (e.g. *ki-tabu* 7-book) or in combination with other elements (e.g. *a-na-ki-soma* SM1-PRS-OM7-read 'I read it').

In Makhuwa and Swahili glossing, the final vowel (FV) of the verbs was not marked separately unless relevant. As a result, a verbal form such *anasema* 'he speaks' was marked as *a-na-sema* (SM1-PRS-speak) rather than *a-na-sem-a* (SM1-PRS-speak-FV).

Note on the transcription Original Makhuwa and Swahili data was transcribed following the standard orthographies of the two languages. The transcription process is discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.1.

For Makhuwa, which is a tonal language, tones were marked only in the discussion of Makhuwa grammar in Chapter 5. The collected texts were not transcribed with tone, as tone is not marked in standard Makhuwa orthography. Although a future representation of tones in the corpus will be a valuable addition, due constrains to time and resources, tone marking was omitted as it is not central to the discussion. The tone system is briefly discussed in Chapter 5.

Abbreviations

.	fused meaning
-	morpheme boundary
́x	high tone
|	IU boundary
||	paragraph boundary
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
APPL	applicative
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CJ	conjoint
CL	clitic
COMP	complementizer
CONN	connective
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DJ	disjoint
DO	direct object
DIM	diminutive
DUR	durative
E	emphatic marker
FOC	focus
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
H	high tone
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
I	first series of demonstratives
II	second series of demonstratives
III	third series of demonstratives
IAV	immediate after verb
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negative/negation
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRON	pronoun
PRS	present
PST	past
Q	question particle
REC	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SIT	situative
SUBS	subsecutive
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
TOP	topic

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction and motivation for the research

Object marking has been studied in depth in the field of Bantu linguistics. It has been identified as one of the main criteria for recognizing objects (Schadeberg 1995) and the syntactic status of object markers as agreement or pronominal clitics has been discussed at length (e.g. Baker 1996, Riedel 2009b). The typological morphosyntactic variation amongst Bantu languages with respect to object marking has been described (Beaudoin-Lietz et al. 2004, Marten & Kula 2012), and the study of this phenomenon in Bantu has also become a vital part of the wider linguistic study on differential object marking (e.g. Morimoto 2002, Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011). However, one area that remains largely unexplored is the function of object marking in discourse.

When object marking is optional, factors such as topicality and definiteness have been posited as crucial factors in determining the occurrence of object marking (Duranti 1979, Bresnan & Mchombo 1987). And when an object marker (OM) appears without the corresponding noun, it is also clearly linked to the wider discourse. "If the lexical object remains unexpressed, the object marker, showing anaphoric agreement, will normally substitute for it" (Bearth 2003: 123). These brief mentions of the phenomenon in the literature aside, a comprehensive study of the relationship between object marking and discourse is still lacking.

This thesis sets out to start filling this gap by looking at object marking in two

Bantu languages: Makhuwa and Swahili. These two closely related languages have been chosen for their very different object marking systems. Swahili has a complex paradigm of OMs, typical of Bantu languages, with a different OM corresponding to each noun class. In (1a), the object marker *mw-* agrees with the class 1 object *Juma*. In (1b), the *ki-* marker agrees with the class 7 object *kitabu* 'book'. In this second case, the object marker on the verb is alliterative (Corbett 2006) with the noun class prefix on the noun.

(1) a. *ni-li-mw-ona* *Juma*
SM1SG-PST-OM1-see 1.Juma
'I saw Juma.'

b. *ni-li-ki-ona* *ki-tabu*
SM1SG-PST-OM7-see 7-book
'I saw the book.' (Marten & Kula 2012: 6-7)

Makhuwa, by comparison, has an object marking system which is more unusual within the Bantu family, and is therefore particularly interesting for the study of object marking in general. Makhuwa has a highly reduced object marking paradigm, where OMs exist only for class 1 and 2 nouns and speech participants, and are obligatory with nouns belonging to these classes. However, no other types of noun can be object-marked.

In (2a) the object marker *m-* on the verb can correspond to any of the three listed object nouns, all belonging to class 1. The range of nouns ('Hamisi', 'the hare', 'the fish hook') shows that object marking is obligatory for this class regardless of their semantic features such as animacy, sometimes connected to differential object marking (DOM) in Bantu (Morimoto 2002). In (2b) objects from classes other than 1 and 2 show no object marking on the verb. Example (2c) demonstrates that it is not possible to object marked these nouns, as the same sentence with the corresponding existing OM for class 1 is ungrammatical.

(2) a. *ki-ni-ḿ-wéha* *Hamísi* / *namarokoló* / *nancoólo*
SM1SG-PRS.CJ-OM1-look 1.Hamisi / 1.hare / 1.fish.hook
'I see Hamisi / the hare / the fish hook.'

b. *ki-m-wéhá nveló / mikhorá / kalapinteéro*
SM1SG-PRS.CJ-look 3.broom / 4.doors / 5.carpenter
'I see the broom / doors / the carpenter.'

c. **ki-ni-ḿ-wéha nveló / mikhorá / kalapinteéro*
SM1SG-PRS.CJ-OM1-look 3.broom / 4.doors / 5.carpenter
'I see the broom / doors / carpenter.'

(Van der Wal 2009: 84-85)

Despite the fact that the systems of object marking In Swahili and Makhuwa are well described, the implications of the differences between them for other aspects of the grammar, and especially for discourse, are still unclear. In Swahili, object marking is optional for the majority of noun classes. Some tendencies have been formulated to recognize when the speaker chooses to use the object marker (e.g. Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997), but the findings fail to fully explain the patterns in the data and some examples are put aside as 'special cases'. This study will therefore investigate examples such as (3) and (4) below, to establish the circumstances under which speakers use an object noun phrase (NP) with the corresponding OM (3) and where, on the other hand, only the NP without the OM occurs, as in (4). When possible, examples are presented in such pairs to give the context and the comparison with a parallel instance of the (non) use of an OM in similar conditions. Where relevant, the 'Ø' sign is used to show the lack of use of the OM where it could hypothetically occur.

(3) a. *A-ki-wa mbele kidogo*
SM1-SIT-be ahead a.bit
'When he was a little bit ahead,'

b. *wa-le vi-jana wa-na-**i**-ona kofia y-ake*
2-DEMIII 7-boy SM2-PRS-**OM9**-see 9.hat 9-POSS1
'Those boys saw his hat.'

(4) a. *Wa-na-**Ø**-pakia ma-tunda y-ale*
SM2-PRS-(OM)-stack 6-fruit 6-DEMIII
'They stacked that fruit,'

b. *na wa-na-ondoka*
SM2-PRS-leave
'and they left.'

Elsewhere, the object NP is not present, and so the argument is expressed by the corresponding OM only (5b). In yet other cases, object marking is omitted altogether, including the OM on the verb, as in (6b). This therefore also begs the question of the circumstances under which this null marking of the object can or does occur.

(5) a. *Tu-ka-tayarisha kabisa m-chele (...)*
SM1PL-SUBS-prepare completely 3-rice
'Then we prepared the rice,'

b. *Tu-ka-**u**-weka pembeni*
SM1PL-SUBS-**OM3**-put aside
'and then we put it aside.'

(6) a. *A-na-chukua vi-donge vi-wili vy-a sukari*
SM3SG-PRS-take 8-lump 8-two 8-CONN 9.sugar
'She takes two lumps of sugar.'

b. *a-na-**Ø**-tumbukiza katika glasi*
SM1-PRS.CJ-(OM)-thrust into glass
'She drops (them) into the glass.'

Turning to Makhuwa, where the majority of classes – as noted above – do not have a corresponding object marker, this leads to further questions. One such issue is what the Makhuwa equivalent of example (5b) looks like. In other words, where Swahili uses OMs to denote objects which are not expressed by an overt NP, what strategy is employed in Makhuwa to achieve the same effect, when OMs do not exist for most classes of nouns? Van der Wal (2009) argues that when the object is retrievable from the surrounding context, it will be freely omitted (as in example (7) below). In (7a) the object *ikhwiyeri* 'spoon', belonging to noun class 9, is expressed by a lexical NP. In (7b) the same object is not overtly expressed in any way, although implied and clear from the preceding context.

(7) a. *A-ho-cisa e-khwiyeri*
SM1-PRF-take 9-spoon
'She took a spoon.'

b. *a-ho-ttikhela mumkhu-ni*
SM1-PRF-put plate-LOC
'She puts (it) on the plate.'

However, data from semi-spontaneous speech gathered for the present study show that this is not always the case. Sometimes, despite the object referent being retrievable from the surrounding context, speakers choose to repeat the full NP, often accompanied by a demonstrative or possessive pronoun. In the following example, the object *ekofia* 'hat', which has just been mentioned in the first clause (8a), is repeated again in (8b) despite being clear from context.

(8) a. *Phaa-cis-aya e-kofi'-yo*
NARR-pick-POSS.2 9-hat-DEMII
'They picked up that hat.'

b. *phaa-rw-aya n-mahaa o-wara ekofi-y' awe*
NARR-go-POSS.2 OM1-give INF-wear 9.hat-DEMII 9.POSS.1
'They went to give him his hat to wear.'

The question is what determines the choice between these two strategies in Makhuwa, and whether these motivations are the same or different for the corresponding variance in the use of OMs or other strategies in Swahili, as demonstrated by (5) and (6). Furthermore, it is important to consider how these patterns compare to corresponding examples with class 1 and 2 nouns, where OMs are available as a strategy for referring to objects in Makhuwa.

It is obvious from the examples presented here that when a speaker refers to an object, there are several different strategies to choose from, including the use or omission of the OM. This study therefore examines the discourse conditions which influence speakers' choices between the various strategies. It also situates the discussion of these two Bantu languages within the wider context of cross-linguistic tendencies in the way referents are coded in discourse (cf. Givón 1983). The latter predicts light phonological coding of referents known to the hearer through previous mentions and heavy coding for referents which are newly introduced in the discourse.

Thus, in this study, object marking is viewed as a strategy by which referents are coded in discourse, rather than as a purely syntactic phenomenon in single isolated sentences. At the same time, the morphosyntactic aspects of this phenomenon that have already been researched are integrated into the analysis, as the resulting patterns

are an interplay of all these factors.

By examining this topic, this study has several interrelated objectives. The first is a comparative study of two very different object marking paradigms in the Bantu languages: Makhuwa and Swahili. By studying comparable texts in the two languages, the (non)occurrence of object marking is examined together with various strategies for representing objects in discourse. Factors typically associated with OMs in other Bantu languages, such as definiteness or topicality, are also considered, to shed light on the function of object marking more generally.

The next aim is to advance the study of discourse in Bantu languages more generally. Topics such as prosodic and pragmatic properties of texts, coding of participants and the structure of discourse are explored for both Makhuwa and Swahili, and these supporting aspects of the study also contribute to wider cross-linguistic research in this area. By viewing object marking as one of the strategies to refer back to a referent in the previous discourse, this study emphasizes the importance of studying the surrounding context of grammatical structures in order to understand their use in a particular context.

This leads to a broader objective of this study, namely to widen our knowledge of the link between grammar and discourse. This stems from the implications of using discourse factors to understand structures which are considered non-canonical from a morphosyntactic point of view, as explained below.

Within Bantu linguistics, a closer examination of certain 'verb-object' related phenomena in the past, such as applicative constructions in Swahili and other Bantu languages, revealed important links between syntactically non-canonical constructions and other factors such as pragmatics (Marten 2002), information structure (Peterson 2007) and semantics (Leonard & Saliba 2006), which were often previously overlooked. In a similar way, exploring examples of object marking - considered unusual for Bantu languages - within their discourse contexts makes us reconsider some notions that are widely taken as canonical for the verb and its objects in Bantu. This is especially important considering the fact that object marking is taken as one of the main

ways of defining a grammatical object in Bantu. Objects have received much attention in the linguistic literature on Bantu languages (e.g. Vitale 1981, Hyman & Duranti 1982, Bresnan & Mchombo 1987, Schadeberg 1995, Bearth 2003) but the vast majority of these studies again focus on a purely syntactic analysis of 'verb-object' related issues, within the confines of specific linguistic theories. They overlook the other aspect of objects (or their referents) as discourse entities.

Last but not least, the present work contributes to the documentation and research of lesser-studied languages. This both contributes to widening typological knowledge of linguistics as a field, and also helps to raise the profile of these languages on a socio-political level by giving them more detailed academic scrutiny. This is especially true for Makhuwa, where extensive effort is being put into using the language in more formal domains, such as education (see Chimbutane 2013 for details on biligual education in Mozambique). As Lüpke (2006) notes: "(...) distribution of linguistic features in genres established on the basis of 'speech events' of the speech community (...) can also inform the creators of language materials aimed at language maintenance and revitalisation to design materials that reflect patterns of actual discourse" (2006: 92). This is something that has been debated with respect to which variety of Makhuwa should be used in literacy material (personal correspondence with T. Veloso and A. Victorino in 2012).

1.2 Research questions

This study of object marking in Swahili and Makhuwa discourse will focus on the following research questions:

1. Comparison of object marking paradigms:

    - How does Makhuwa encode specificity/definiteness/topicality (typically associated with OMs in Swahili)?
    - Are independent pronouns more commonly used in Makhuwa to fulfil functions otherwise believed to be carried out by object marking? If so, does

Swahili use pronouns in addition to OMs in the same way?

- Are OMs for class 1 and 2 used in the same environments in the two languages?

2. Discourse patterns:

   - What are the patterns of occurrence of NP+OM/only OM/only NP to refer to objects in Makhuwa and Swahili texts?
   - What are the particular discourse conditions which influence these patterns of occurrence?
   - Can objects be completely omitted in Makhuwa and Swahili? Under which conditions?
   - What strategies are used to track participants in discourse in the two languages?
   - How does the new Swahili and Makhuwa data support existing hypothesis such as Givón's (1983) scale of grammatical coding devices in discourse?
   - Can the presence/absence of object markers in the grammar of a language be said to influence the discourse strategies of that language?

3. Wider implications:

   - Can discourse factors help to account for the occurrence of object marking?
   - What is the relation between morphosyntactic structures and their use in discourse, and what does this mean for the form-function relation of language, and for our understanding of linguistic variation?

Posing questions such as these confirm that object marking remains a widely studied but poorly understood phenomenon and examining its occurrence in discourse can broaden our perspective on it.

1.3 Introduction to the languages

The Bantu language family is part of the world's largest language phylum, Niger-Congo, which encompasses more than 1,400 languages spoken on the African continent (Nurse 2001). However, Nurse & Philippson (2003) warn against treating the number of languages as absolute, mostly due to the problem of differentiating languages and dialects.

> "In sub-Saharan Africa these distinctions are only partly true and in any case any distinction between language and dialect is part linguistic, part political, part prestige-related" (Nurse & Philippson 2003: 3).

In a similar way, the number of Bantu languages is estimated to be around 500, although Nurse & Philippson (2003) also point to a great deal of variation in this figure, as different sources have cited between 440 and 680 Bantu languages in the last 40 years. They are spoken by indigenous communities across 27 different countries in sub-Saharan Africa and the number of speakers amounts to around 240 million (Nurse & Philippson 2003). Data on the number of speakers in the diaspora is not available and would probably raise this figure even higher.

Marten (2005) considers Bantu languages to have the longest scholarly linguistic tradition and the highest degree of description among all African language groups. One of the oldest and most studied aspects of Bantu linguistics is the internal genetic structure of this language family. The most influential classification of the Bantu languages used to this day is Guthrie's (1948). This classification is in fact partly geographical and partly typological, as languages are grouped into 'zones' (each zone is labelled with a letter and a number) according to their similar features and, mainly, the geographical area where they are spoken. Even though Guthrie's (1948) classification is not an accurate genetic classification in terms of linguistic features present in the languages, it has been maintained for practical reasons, as it serves as a way to aid the comparison and discussion on Bantu languages (suggested also by Maho 2001).

Historical classifications of Bantu languages, which are most often based on lexico-

statistical data, split this language family into a north-west, west and east group (Bastin et al. 1999). Research on this classification continues to this day (see Grollemund et al. 2015), and new complexities in possible genetic affiliations of individual Bantu languages are still being discovered. Swahili and Makhuwa belong to different zones in the traditional classification but are both part of the narrow eastern Bantu group. Grollemund et al. (2015) estimate that these two languages were still part (with many other languages) of their common ancestor proto-language at the 'calibration point' (i.e. known point of divergence) of 2500 BP. A lexico-statistic count reveals that they share 49% basic vocabulary, although they differ considerably for example in their phonology (Dimmendaal 2001).

In sub-Saharan Africa there is a high degree of multilingualism on an individual as well as societal level, and Bantu language communities are often no exception. This can include various sociolinguistic patterns involving 'local' languages, a lingua franca,[1] new emerging urban language varieties, as well as official languages introduced during the colonial era. The complex language dynamics are constantly changing, sometimes bringing about cases of language endangerment. As has been argued by e.g. Good (2011) and Lüpke (2015), however, the discourse on language endangerment and documentation is heavily modelled on North American and Australian cases and is therefore unsuitable for the African context, leaving these sociolinguistic situations still poorly described and understood (but cf. Batibo 2005, Good 2011, Lüpke 2015). Makhuwa and Swahili find themselves in quite contrasting situations within this discussion. The latter is often labelled as a 'killer' language[2] because of its dominant use as lingua franca which communities switch to, and in so doing lose their own native language. Makhuwa, on the other hand, with its little documentation and limited use in public domains might be considered a local language marginalised by the use of an ex-colonial official language (in this case Portuguese). But this phenomenon is much more complex and some background on the specific language situations is there-

[1] A language of wider communication.

[2] See (Mufwene 2005) for a discussion on the controversial use of this term for languages such as English or Swahili.

fore required. This is given in the following sections (see Chapter 2 for a description of the specific language situation in the geographical area where fieldwork was conducted for the purposes of this study).

Another aspect of societal multilingualism which has recently attracted more attention in the field of Bantu linguistics is language contact. Language contact situations have been the focus of a number of studies, which observe the effect of contact on aspects of the languages in question, from phonology to morphosyntax (Gibson 2013, Marten 2013b).

1.3.1 Makhuwa

Kisseberth & Cassimjee (2012) describe Makhuwa as '... perhaps the least adequately described and documented of the major Bantu languages' (2012: 1). It is indeed surprising how relatively little attention this Bantu language spoken by over 5.5 million people has received so far (cf. Katupha 1983; 1991, Kisseberth 2003, Van der Wal 2009). Makhuwa is mostly spoken in Northern Mozambique, although there is also a Makhuwa speaking community of about 385,000 people in Southern Tanzania, in the Mtwara and Rovuma regions (Lewis et al. 2014). (Kisseberth 2003) also mentions small communities in Malawi, Madagascar (also noted by Katupha 1983), the Comoro Islands and outside Durban in South Africa, although it is not known if they are still maintained at the present time.

Within Mozambique, Makhuwa is spoken mostly in four provinces, namely Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa, and Zambézia. According to the last available National Institute of Statistics (INE) report of 2010, the total number of mother-tongue speakers in the country comes to approximately 5,307,378 people of age five and more (Ngunga & Faquir 2011). Makhuwa is one of Mozambique's 19 national languages,[3] but Portuguese remains the only official language. The Nucleo de Estudos de Língua Moçambicana (NELIMO)[4] at the Eduardo Mondlane University promotes linguistic

[3]This is a result of the changes in language policy made in the 1980s where many 'local' languages have been included as national ones while Portuguese remained the official language of the country (Kröger 2005).

[4]The Centre for the Study of Mozambican Languages.

research on and codification of Mozambique's national languages, which has also led to the development of an unified orthography for each of the eight major national Bantu languages in 2000 (including Makhuwa) and the on-going publication of several grammars (Ngunga & Simbine 2012 amongst others).

In Guthrie's (1948) classification of Bantu languages, Makhuwa, classified as P.31, belongs to the P.30 group, together with Lomwe, Ngulu and Chuabo[5], and can also be found with alternative spellings of the language as Macua, Makua, Emakua or Emakhuwa.[6] As is often the case, this name covers a range of language varieties rather than a single language. The Makhuwa varieties officially recognized by NELIMO are Emakhuwa, Enahara, Esaaka, Esankaci, Emarevoni, Elomwe, Emeetto, and Echirima (Sitoe & Ngunga 2000: 67). In the process of developing a standard orthography for Makhuwa, Emakhuwa spoken in Nampula was chosen as the variety of reference,[7] both because of its central geographical location but also for its supposed intelligibility with the other varieties (Ngunga & Faquir 2011). Kröger too points to the central variety Emakhuwa as the dialect most often identified with Makhuwa generally, also referred to as Emakhuwane (Kröger 2005). Its socio-political importance within the northern regions of the country at the time had been lending Nampula the status of the 'economic centre of the north', which also reinforces the socio-linguistic perception of the local language variety as the reference dialect. This, however, might be changing recently due to the economic importance of the oil trade in Pemba.

1.3.1.1 Makhuwa language varieties

The data used for this research were collected in and around the town of Pemba, the capital of Cabo Delgado province. The Makhuwa variety spoken in this area is identified as Makhuwa-Meeto (or Emeetto) by existing linguistic resources, at least accord-

[5]Kisseberth finds this problematic, doubting whether Lomwe and Ngulu are distinct from Makhuwa (2003: 546). A number of other languages have at different times been included in the same group, such as Koti (or Ekoti), a variety of Makhuwa. More recently this language has been found to be 'a language on its own, awaiting further classification within the P zone' (Kröger 2005: 4). See also Batibo et al. (1997) for a hypothesis of Makhuwa's common origin with Sotho.

[6]*E-* is the Makhuwa noun class prefix used for languages.

[7]"During the 1989 conference (the first conference on national orthographies in Maputo), it was agreed that the central variety of Makua should be taken as the reference dialect" (Kröger 2005: 5).

ing to its location (Ngunga & Faquir 2011, Kröger 2005: map p. 22). It is said to be spoken by approx. 963,000 people (Lewis et al. 2014). In addition, a smaller number of speakers is found also in the neighboring Niassa province, and if one includes the migrant communities in bigger urban centers such as Nampula or Maputo, the estimate for the total number of speakers rises to 1,348,000 (Lewis et al. 2014). However, the Makhuwa variety continuum, especially that of the varieties spoken on the coast, remains heavily understudied (cf. Van der Wal 2009 for Makhuwa Enahara on Ilha de Mozambique). Kröger (2005) confirms this, noting that considerably less linguistic research has been carried out on the coast as compared to the interior of the country (Kröger 2005: 7). As a consequence, the information on language varieties, dialect classification and number of speakers is very limited and only approximate. Linguistic self-identification is also not very helpful in this respect. During fieldwork I observed that although the Makhuwas are very aware of the differences among speakers from various geographical backgrounds, no differentiating names are used for the varieties. Typically simply 'Makhuwa' or 'o dialecto'[8] are used to refer to different varieties (the same has been noted by Kröger 2005: 4 and Kisseberth & Cassimjee 2012: 3). The term 'meeto' has been identified by a number of language consultants as a pejorative nickname used by speakers on the coast for a person that comes from the inland countryside ('the bush area'), suggesting perhaps that there is a perceived difference between the varieties spoken in the more inland part of this region and those spoken in the coastal area.

Almost no material is available on Makhuwa-Meeto specifically, with the exception of two small publications by SIL Mozambique, one with some notes on the grammar, and the other a concise dictionary (Campos et al. 2010, Kotope et al. 2009). A comparison of the data collected for this research recorded in Pemba city and the language used in the SIL material revealed several significant differences. The lexical and grammatical variations suggest more diversity within the Makhuwa dialect continuum which has yet to be examined. How systematic and deep these differences are remains

[8]Portuguese for 'dialect/local indigenous language'.

to be seen.

However, in the absence of a more detailed study of the variation found within Makhuwa in the region, and comparative or lexico-statistic studies which were not part of this research, the variety studied in this thesis will be assumed to be part of the Emeetto dialect group in accordance with the existing linguistic terminology. It will be referred to simply as Makhuwa in the rest of the thesis, unless specified otherwise. A more precise identification of this variety as Makhuwa-Meeto will need further research.[9]

1.3.1.2 Makhuwa linguistic material

Makhuwa (together with other major Bantu languages in Mozambique) is considered a national language[10] and is starting to be used in more formal domains such as national broadcasting and education. Printed material in Makhuwa can also be found, such as health pamphlets, religious booklets and educational material. Progresso, a non-profit organization, is especially active in publishing the latter (e.g. Victorino 2011). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, NELIMO at the Eduardo Mondlane University carries out linguistic work on Makhuwa and has also established a unified orthography for Makhuwa in 2000 which uses the Roman alphabet and follows the orthographic tradition of other Bantu languages in the country. However, mentions can be found in historical sources of Makhuwa also being written in the Arabic script at a certain point in the past (Knappert 1996: 162).[11]

Despite this increase in available material in Makhuwa, its linguistic description is extremely limited. Some significant work has been done on some of the varieties, how-

[9] It would be interesting for example to compare the variety under study here with Enatthembo due to possible common origins:

> "The Anatthembo are a small people group, thought to be originating from the province of Cabo Delgado. The local elders claim that they fled from an area around Pemba called Shanga/Sanga about four centuries ago because of Arab-Portuguese warfare" (Lyndon 2007: 3).

(Kisseberth 2003: 546) also notes the strong link of Sangaji (or Enaatthempo) language to Makhuwa, especially with regards to their morphology and tone structure.

[10] '[T]his comes from the 80s change of language policy' (Kröger 2005).

[11] "Makua, spoken in northern Mozambique. I have seen mss [MM: manuscripts] in Arabic script."

ever, such as Van der Wal (2009) for Makhuwa-Enhara, Stucky (1985) on Makhuwa-Imithupi and Katupha (1983; 1991) on Makhuwa-Esaka. SIL has also been active in the region and linguistic work has been done also on the Meeto variety, some of which, however, remains unpublished to this day, aside from a small dictionary (Campos et al. 2010) and a grammar booklet (Kotope et al. 2009).

> '... the Bible was first published (in Makhuwa) in 1982 and went through several revisions (...) an SIL team conducted rapid appraisals (Floor and Iseminger 1993) in Cabo Delgado Province in 1993. It was therefore decided to initiate research and future translation in Emeto, the Cabo Delgado variety.' (Kröger 2005: 6)

Prata (1960) and Centis (2001) are also useful resources for the study of the Makhuwa language, although they both based their work on the Nampula variety, considered the 'principal dialect' of Makhuwa, as mentioned previously. In addition, the latter is conceived of more as a language textbook than a descriptive grammar, with explanations and terminology adapted accordingly. Prata's (1960) grammar belongs to the numerous works done by missionaries in the region, which Kisseberth (2003) believes have their strength in the contribution to the lexicon but miss critical aspects in their grammatical description.

1.3.2 Swahili

Swahili is classified by Guthrie (1948) as belonging to the G40 group. It is also referred to as a macrolanguage (Lewis et al. 2014) as it covers a wide range of language varieties. It can be referred to by its Swahili name Kiswahili,[12] sometimes spelled Kisuaheli (especially in sources from the early 20th century). It is spoken over a large geographical area covering much of East Africa including Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Mozambique and is estimated to be the mother-tongue of approximately 15 million speakers (Lewis et al. 2014). It is

[12]The *ki-* prefix is the 7 noun class prefix given to most languages and signaling their membership in that noun class (see Chapter 4 for an explanation of the noun class system).

however spoken by many as second language as it is used as lingua franca throughout the region. The number of speakers in total varies depending on the source from 30 million (Lewis et al. 2009) to 49 million (Wijntjes 2014).

For the present study, new data was collected from speakers from the coastal region including locations such as Pemba and Zanzibar in Tanzania and the Mueda region of northern Mozambique. Although Swahili mother-tongue speakers inhabiting the coast are often referred to as the Waswahili,[13] it has been long debated whether communities over such a varied geographical area can be said to have a common cultural identity (Eastman 1971, Mazrui 2007, Mugane 2015). This has been a matter of discussion and controversy, but certain common cultural traits have been found along the coast and have therefore often been associated with the Waswahili, especially in the past. These include for example Islam as the prevailing religion, fishing, agriculture and trading as source of living and elements of both Bantu and Arabic/Persian cultural heritage. In a more modern context, tourism as important element of the economy could probably also be added to the list. It is however increasingly clear that 'cultural identity' is better defined on a smaller scale with many different communities making up the Waswahili group.

Because of its status as an official language of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, and as a lingua franca more generally, the Swahili language is widely used both in its spoken and written form in many domains, including official government use, TV and radio broadcasting, oral and written literature, religion, education, and the arts, as well as day-to-day use.

1.3.2.1 Swahili language varieties

When discussing varieties of Swahili, the first significant distinction is usually made between the varieties spoken on the mainland and the coastal varieties (including islands) (Bertoncini 1976). The reason for this is that the term 'mainland Swahili' is

[13]The prefix *wa-* denotes noun class 2 typically associated with animate nouns (in the plural form; one member would be *M-swahili* in class 1). It is therefore often used when talking about nationalities or a group sharing the same cultural identity; other examples include *Wa-arabu* 'Arabs' or *Wa-reno* 'Portuguese people'.

commonly used to refer to the variety spoken by speakers of Swahili as a second or third language in Tanzania and Kenya (who typically live on the mainland), and also those living in other countries where Swahili is spoken as a lingua franca, such as Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. First-language Swahili speakers, on the other hand, come mostly from the East African coast stretching from Lamu island in Kenya to the north Mozambican coast. Different Swahili varieties are spoken on different areas along the coast, such as Kiamu (spoken in the Lamu archipelago), Kimvita (spoken in Mombasa) and Kiunguja (spoken in Zanzibar). The latter one formed the basis for Standard Swahili, which was formally codified in the 20th century (Russell 1986).

The individuation of Swahili varieties is not straightforward for reasons mentioned already, such as the blurred distinction between language and dialect. Some older sources (e.g. Bertoncini 1976) speak of around 15 dialects split into a northern group (e.g. Kiamu, but also Chimwini, a variety spoken in southern Somalia), a central group (e.g. Kimvita) and a southern group (e.g. Kimafia), according to the geographic location of the speakers. Since then, Chimwini for example has been increasingly recognised as a distinct language rather than a variety of Swahili (Henderson 2010, Kisseberth 2010). Other varieties such as Kimafia are considered to denote a language group rather than one variety. Specifically, Kimafia encompasses different varieties such as Kingome or Kichole spoken in different parts of the Mafia archipelago (Kipacha 2004). More recent sources such as Lewis et al. (2009) list 13 varieties under the Swahili[14] group, namely Amu, Bajuni, Fundi, Matondoni, Mgao, Mrima, Mvita, Mwini, Pate, Pemba, Shamba, Siu and Unguja.

1.3.2.2 Swahili linguistic material

Swahili has received much attention in the field of linguistics. Linguistic articles have been written on many aspects of the Swahili language from phonology (Mpiranya 1995, Contini-Morava 1997), morphology (Brandon 1974), to syntax (Vitale 1981,

[14]Congo Swahili, Cutchi-Swahili, Makwe and Mwani are classified as sister languages of Swahili in the G40 Swahili group.

Abdulaziz 1996) and also pragmatics (Marten 2002). However, an up-to-date comprehensive reference grammar for this language is lacking. The most commonly cited language manuals include Ashton's (1944) and Polomé's (1967) grammars (Schadeberg 1992). The more recent grammar sketch by Schadeberg (1992) is a useful descriptive overview of Swahili grammar.

As for published material in Swahili, following logically from the very different linguistic setting, the situation is quite the opposite of that of Makhuwa. The use of Swahili as a literary language (in the sense of written literature) has a long tradition going back to poetry and chronicles from the 18th century. Even though the language now uses the Roman script, at that time Swahili used to be written in Arabic script and manuscripts from this period are preserved to this day. Institutions devoted to the study, promotion and development of the Swahili language also have a long history, beginning with those established by the colonial administrations in the 1930s, to the founding of country-specific Swahili councils after independence such as BAKITA[15] (Bertoncini 1976). This resulted in many classic works of literature being translated into Swahili, as well as a wealth of books from poetry to fiction written and published by Swahili authors, something that continues to this day (for an overview of Swahili literature see Bertoncini et al. 2009). There is also a variety of newspapers and magazines in Swahili, and a considerable body of online material such as YouTube videos, blogs and forums. However, in terms of written material for the study of linguistics, probably one of the most significant developments in recent years is the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili (HCS) developed at Helsinki University. This corpus of 12.5 million words enables researchers to search and study numerous texts taken from novels and newspapers. For research and comparison with the better studied Indo-European languages, it is an incomparable linguistic resource which will surely continue to advance the field of Swahili linguistics. Nonetheless, as further explained in Chapter 2, this corpus was not used for this study as the collection of primary data was favoured instead. This allowed for the Swahili and Makhuwa data to be as comparable as possible as the data

[15]Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (National Swahili Council in Tanzania).

collection process insured a similar degree of 'naturalness' in the recordings (see 2.2).

1.4 Thesis overview

This thesis is structured into ten chapters which are grouped into two overarching parts. The first part of the thesis, encompassing Chapters 1-4, lays out the background information to the main aspects of this study. Chapter 1 has given an introduction to the topic of research, its motivations and the main research questions the study sets out to explore. It also briefly introduced the two languages which are the main focus of the study. Chapter 2 explains the methodologies used throughout this study, from fieldwork and data management to the types of studied genres and overall approach. Chapter 3 then presents the relevant grammatical theoretical background and existing analyses of object marking, and Chapter 4 is an introduction to the theories and literature on discourse analysis which are used to interpret and analyse the data.

The second part of the thesis begins with an overview of the language structures and grammatical features required for the analysis of object marking in discourse. Therefore, the grammars of Makhuwa and Swahili are reviewed in chapters 5 and 6 respectively, laying the basis for further discussion. Chapters 7-9 then present the collected data and the analysis. In Chapter 7, the main discourse features of Makhuwa and Swahili texts which emerged are described alongside issues that came up during their study. Once the most important discourse elements of each language are identified, Chapter 8 describes patterns of participant tracking found in the collected texts and the discourse factors which affect them. Chapter 9 has a narrower scope, focusing specifically on the way objects are expressed in discourse and placing object marking within this system. Furthermore, it brings together discourse patterns with syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features associated with object marking, making the case for a multi-faceted approach to the study of this phenomenon. Finally, Chapter 10 ends with some general considerations and conclusions as well as possible directions for further studies.

Overall, this study presents the way in which object marking has been studied within

the discourse analysis framework, including measuring of the reference density of texts as well as considering OMs as part of the system for referents tracking. This led to the identification of a number of discourse factors which influence the occurrence of object marking including the activation status of the respective participant, the structuring of the text and the referent's discourse topicality.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the different methodologies used in this study. This includes choices made in terms of what kind of data to collect, how it was collected and the way plans were adjusted to real life circumstances encountered in the field. Understanding where data comes from is essential for understanding the analysis and is often overlooked in theoretical work (Himmelmann 1998).

> "For documentary linguistics, a basic — and fairly easily implemented — consequence (...) is requiring that all data compiled in language documentation be coded as to their recording/gathering circumstances. This is important since it allows for evaluation of the relevance of a specific piece of data for a given analytical proposal" (Himmelmann 1998: 26).

This is applicable beyond documentary linguistics, to any study which works with primary data. It is especially important when looking at discourse, where context plays a significant role. The whole process of data collection is therefore described in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 describes the methods of data coding including transcription and prosodic and syntactic segmentation of texts. Section 2.4 characterises the different linguistic genres found in the samples, explains their presence and purpose in the study and their value for cross linguistic work. The last section of this chapter 2.5 explains

the reasons for the comparative qualitative approach taken in this study.

2.2 Fieldwork and data collection

Considering the very limited linguistic material available relating to discourse structures in Swahili and, especially, in Makhuwa, newly gathered data was needed in order to study object marking in these languages. As the aim of the study is specifically the observe the use of object markers in discourse, recording primary language samples was desirable to obtain longer stretches of spoken language, which are otherwise difficult to find. Collecting new data was also needed in order to have comparable texts in Makhuwa and Swahili.

The language situation varies substantially for the two languages, and as a result the data collection occurred under different circumstances. For Swahili, many speakers can be found in London[1] because of numerous diaspora communities living there. Recordings of Swahili speakers were therefore mostly collected in London through university channels and subsequently complemented by consulting existing material. This includes the academic body of work on Swahili morphosyntax and related phenomena, language manuals, and also the many recordings of spoken Swahili available in online media, as discussed further later in this chapter. For Makhuwa the situation is very different. This language is poorly documented and barely any material is available for the study of discourse and related phenomena. Even though there are Makhuwa speakers living outside the African continent, no significant community was found in the UK that could help with accessing the amount of language data required for this study. Moreover, one of the aims of the study is to contribute to the documentation of varieties of this language and the language practices of its speakers, and so it seemed most appropriate to do this aspect of the research in situ. Most of the data was therefore collected through primary fieldwork in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique, from September 2012 to May 2013. In characterizing both fieldwork contexts in more detail, the methodological issues of sampling, reliability and naturalness (as formulated

[1]This is where I was based for the duration of my PhD research.

by Himmelmann 1998) are also addressed.

2.2.1 Fieldwork techniques and stimuli

Generally following Mosel's (2012) recommendations on data gathering methods for morphosyntactic structure, the data was collected by means of elicitation and interviews with language consultants as well as by recording stories, procedures and dialogues in order to obtain as much 'natural speech' as possible for the analysis of discourse patterns. Additional questionnaires as well as semi-structured interviews were conducted with consultants – depending on the circumstances – in Makhuwa, Portuguese, Swahili or English to get the required background information on the language.

Discourse being the primary focus of this study, the spontaneity and naturalness of data are of central importance. Every linguist in the field however faces the well-known issue of the observer's paradox – a term introduced by Labov (1972) describing the way in which the very act of observing influences the naturalness of the situation. Himmelmann (1998) builds on this concept in his division of 'communicative events'. By 'communicative event', Himmelmann understands a holistic view of linguistic behaviour including anything from short sounds to long spoken segments together with the participants, their gestures, postures, location, etc. (1998: 176). Postulating that completely natural communicative events are impossible to record, Himmelmann defines other types of communicative events in terms of the degree of 'observer induced linguistic self-awareness' cause by different techniques of documentation (1998: 185). The description of various kinds of texts recorded for this study adopts this well-established classification (used also by Lüpke 2006, Schultze-Berndt 2006, Mosel 2012 amongst others).

Most of the data recorded in the field (particularly relevant for the Makhuwa context – see also 2.2.2) falls under the categories of 'observed' and 'staged' communicative events. Observed communicative events are the ones where the only interference is the observing or recording of the ongoing event, with the consent of the participants

(Himmelmann 1998: 185). I approached the method of participant observation by spending a long time with the participants before starting any recording. I engaged in many activities without recording them to assure the speakers felt comfortable with me (and I did with them) and to get a sense of the appropriate and acceptable times when to record and when not to. In the Makhuwa situation for example, this meant spending the first three weeks of fieldwork by visiting the group of women I worked with, spending time with them on a daily basis. I also allowed for them to get used to my recording equipment by letting them try the audio recorder and video camera themselves, and when possible, I let participants record each other. An example of texts resulting from observed communicative events were narrations of folktales. These were collected in informal settings such as storytelling nights organised by the communities in speakers' homes.

An even bigger part of the data used in this study comes from recording staged communicative events. These are prompted by the researcher and performed for the purpose of recording (Himmelmann 1998). Himmelmann makes a distinction between staged events for which only very general instructions are given and staged events which are prompted with more specific tools such as video stimuli. In this case the largest portion of texts prompted by only very general instructions is made up of recipes. The participants were typically asked to recount the recipe for a dish that was just cooked or that they typically cook (for an explanation of the main genres recorded see Section 2.4). Among other texts recorded in this way, we also find personal oral histories and commentaries or explanations on various surrounding elements (e.g. the Baobab tree and the use of its fruits, stories of economic migration to the capital, etc.).

The more controlled staged events were prompted mostly using two kinds of stimuli: The Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics's 'Staged events' sets of videos (Van Staden et al. 2001) and 'The Pear Story' film (Chafe 1980). Occasionally, pictures or videos made in the field capturing procedures such as cooking or celebration preparations were subsequently used as stimuli for different participants to describe the event. In general, videos or pictures were shown to a native speaker who then narrated

their content to another native speaker who in turn had no access to the visual material. Typically two texts exist for each stimulus: one 'commentary' narrated while the video was playing, and one 'retelling' when the story is told once again when the video is finished. The exercise of having as many communicative events as possible occurring among native speakers, rather than including myself as one of the interlocutors is particularly relevant when examining referent tracking in discourse, as explained by Schiffrin (1994):

> "There is no guarantee that the hearer will in fact correctly identify the intended referent. Rather, successful identification depends on the extent to which both the speaker and the hearer share the relevant knowledge and beliefs" (Schiffrin 1994: 198).

The interaction occurring between two native speakers of the community therefore avoids any adjustment from the speaker due to the interlocutor not having a common knowledge background, something she/he might do if talking to me.

Overall, using controlled stimuli yielded less natural data but resulted in a comparable body of texts in the two languages. As noted by Lüpke (2006), the use of stimuli is also important for "the collection of cross-linguistically comparable data on a range of research topics" (2006: 77).

The majority of recordings are in audio format, although when possible video recordings were made. The latter were preferred as gesture and other non-verbal elements are valid factors in the study of discourse and specifically reference tracking. As Azar & Özyürek (2015) note: "(...) tracking of entities in discourse is a multimodal phenomenon" (2015: 222). The visual modality of gesture is most closely connected to the various referring expressions used by the speaker (for studies of the link between gesture and participant tracking see for example McNeill 2005, Foraker 2011). I would have liked to consider this aspect in this study. However, it conflicted with the real fieldwork situation, especially for the Makhuwa context, as participants felt intimidated by the camera much more than by the audio recorder and preferred not to

be filmed. A complementary study on Makhuwa and Swahili gesture in participant tracking would also be a valuable contribution to this field of study.

2.2.2 Makhuwa context

All the Makhuwa data used for the present research have been recorded during fieldwork conducted in Pemba and the nearby village of Murrebue between September 2012 and May 2013, unless stated otherwise.

Pemba lies on the northern coast of Mozambique, on a peninsula in the bay of Pemba. Kröger (2005) characterises the Makhuwa coastal communities as having a strong common culture: "Anthropologically the coastal area people can be defined as one community, unified by Islamic influence" (2005: 7).[2] Pemba has a rich cultural and linguistic makeup as three main language communities live alongside each other: Makhuwa, Makonde and KiMwani (also noted by Schadeberg 1994 and Stevano 2014). Moreover, as this is an important trade capital and port city of North Mozambique, many migrants found their way here to sell at local markets from other East African countries such as Tanzania or Kenya. Along the main road for example, one often meets groups of Masaais in traditional clothing selling shoes and jewellery. Some of the interviewed stallowners selling electronics and kitchen supplies were from the Tanzanian Somali community and spoke of the advantages of being able to sell their goods at a higher price here. The presence of a Chinese community is also very visible especially in the numerous Chinese supermarkets in the city centre. These various language communities and their dynamics create an interesting sociolinguistic situation which is yet to be explored. What is already clear is that as a consequence, Makhuwa communities in Pemba are often multilingual,[3] speaking some Portuguese[4] (the lingua franca of Mozambique) as well as a number of the languages spoken in town, at least at a conversational level. These are needed for example for trading and haggling at

[2]But different religions are also found in the Pemba city district: 72% Muslims, 23% Catholics (INE 2012).

[3]This is common in Sub-saharan Africa (e.g. Lüpke 2005, Batibo 2005, Good 2011).

[4]Fluency varies a great deal and depends on the level of educational attainment, occupation and/or social networks of the individual speaker.

markets. Nanhyimbi, one of the 10 neighbourhoods (*bairros*) of Pemba were most of the data were collected, is outside of the main town centre and is therefore linguistically slightly more isolated. Makhuwa is the language predominantly spoken here, including in most households, in the mosques, in local shops and at market stalls. The language of education in Mozambique is Portuguese, although some of the schools in the Cabo Delgado region have implemented a programme of bilingual education which started in some parts of the country in 2003 (Chimbutane 2013). The school in Nanhyimbi uses Portuguese, although Makhuwa was observed to be used informally fairly often, especially as children in early grades entered school without any prior knowledge of Portuguese. Having at least conversational knowledge of other languages such as Swahili, Makonde or Kimwani was still fairly common among the residents of the neighbourhood.

Some of the data collection consisted of elicitation and use of controlled linguistic stimuli discussed in previous sections, such as The Pear Story (Chafe 1980). However, as the aim of the fieldwork was also to collect naturalistic speech samples wherever possible, the focus was on recording in less formal settings as well, in order to study the discourse use of grammatical patterns in more spontaneous interactions; for example participating at story-telling evenings around the fire, as mentioned above. However, the largest part of the less structured fieldwork was engaging in the day-to-day activities of a group of women in the Nanhyimbi neighbourhood who kindly agreed to let me participate in and record fragments of their daily lives. This involved anything from talking to friends and relatives who passed by to mussel-picking at low tide. As the oldest member of the group Hawa is a well-respected cook in the community, often in charge of organising cooking for a large number of people at various celebrations, most of our time was spent preparing meals. It was in this context that many of the procedural texts were collected. This therefore happened as a natural consequence of the fieldwork situation, rather than being a pre-meditated strategy.

Despite the fact that such unstructured data collection was immensely time consuming, the nature of these 'recording sessions' had many advantages. The first being

the fact that they were rarely regarded as recording sessions by their participants. I would typically come in the late morning hours to the space between the houses of these women, under a large mango tree used for cooking and washing clothes. I would sit in the shade and spend the time until sunset with them. Language matters would be explained to me over meal preparations and other activities. In between daily household tasks, stories and recipes were told, typically ending with a summary of the day spent together recounted by one of the women before my return home. This resulted in a relaxed recording environment where I was able to collect relatively 'natural' data. Another advantage was capturing many unplanned spontaneous conversations as – having been involved in the various manual tasks myself - the recorder was left on for long stretches of time. However, anyone who came into the space by chance and was not familiar with the project was asked for consent and informed about the project immediately.

After the duration of fieldwork, final consultations and elicitations were made with a Makhuwa language consultant residing in the UK. Makhuwa is his mother tongue and he lived most of his life in Pemba, meaning that the consistency of the language variety researched in this thesis was not compromised. Another natural consequence of the fieldwork situation in Pemba was that Makhuwa data was collected primarily from female speakers (although folktales were also recorded from men during storytelling nights). A sociolinguistic study of gender-specific speech in Makhuwa is lacking and would be an interesting addition to the study of this language. So far, no significant differences have been noted between the Makhuwa varieties spoken by women and men. Consulting the collected data with a male Makhuwa speaker back in the UK also confirmed this as no notable variation emerged.

2.2.3 Swahili context

The Swahili context in which data was gathered was quite different from the Makhuwa situation. This is mostly due to Swahili being much more widely spoken and studied. Even though there is published written material available in the language, a Swahili

language corpus (HCS 2004) and oral recordings available online, I preferred to collect primary data so that it was as comparable as possible to the Makhuwa language sample. This also gave more control over the reliability and naturalness of the recordings. If time and finance had permitted, recordings could have been made in East Africa to minimize the differences in fieldwork methodology. However, the opposite was the case (as for many research projects) and the decision was made to find Swahili speakers in London. Luckily, this is not a difficult task due to the relatively large community of Swahilis in London (according to the office for national statistics 6,338 London residents indicated Swahili as their main language in the 2011 census).[5]

The Swahili speakers who contributed to this study come from Zanzibar, although one of them is from Pemba island in Tanzania (distinct from Pemba in Mozambique). Even though some differences can be found between the varieties spoken on the two islands, they are probably not greater than those between Pemba in Mozambique and the neighbouring villages where the Makhuwa recordings were made. Despite living in London for some time, the speakers spoke Swahili at home and considered it their first language. Familiarity with speakers prior to the research project also added an informal element to the recording sessions, providing a relaxed environment that yielded language data of comparable spontaneity as that collected for Makhuwa. Considering the vast amount of spoken Swahili language material available on the web, findings from primary data were also compared against other texts available online, such as Swahili cooking channels on YouTube. However, unless stated otherwise, all the examples come from the primary data collected for this study and are in the Kiunguja dialect recorded in London.

A smaller set of Swahili data comes from a Makhuwa/Swahili bilingual speaker whom I met in Pemba in Mozambique. Having been brought up by a Swahili speaking mother and a Makhuwa speaking father in the very north of Mozambique (right by the Tanzanian border), Mohammed was perfectly fluent in both languages and proficient

[5]Table QS204EW in 'Main language for England and Wales' available for download from `http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011`. Presumably, many Swahili speakers are at least bilingual and might have indicated English as their main language, hence the relatively low number for Swahili.

in Portuguese. Together, we listened to Makhuwa folktales I recorded and Mohammed would than re-narrate each story in Swahili to me (we used Swahili to communicate). His Swahili variety is undoubtedly different from the Zanzibari speakers. However, attention is drawn to his retellings of the stories in this study from time to time, as working with him offered a great opportunity to obtain similar texts in terms of content, and the patterns which emerged in studying these yielded interesting questions.

In contrast to Makhuwa speakers who participated in this study, the proportion of female to male speakers within the group of Swahili participants was perfectly balanced (3 women and 3 men). However, similarly to the Makhuwa situation, no difference was observed in the varieties spoken by Swahili men and women. As a result, this did not pose any limitations to the comparability of the data collected in the two languages. For more information on Makhuwa and Swahili participants who contributed the texts analysed in this study see Appendix 2.

2.3 Data coding

> "It is obvious that every field-based corpus is unique because of the differences in research interests of the field linguist(s), length of fieldwork, funding, profile of the speech community, availability of consultants, etc." (Lüpke 2006: 76)

The fieldwork in Mozambique as well as fieldwork carried out in the UK resulted in a total of approximately ten hours of audio and video material which was deemed most relevant for this study. A strict selection had to be made from the hours of data collected due to the limited time and resources available to transcribe, annoted and analyse recordings. Moreover, even within the ten hours selected, only a certain amount of recordings were used as primary sources. Due to the unstructured nature of the methods of data collection described above, some of these recordings were very difficult to work with, for example because they involve various speakers talking simultaneously and have disrupting background noises. Still, considering the valuable spontaneous

character of most of the material, all of it was kept and consulted sporadically and deserves further analysis. However, considering the time and resources available, only 43 texts (comprising about 4 hours of recording) were more closely considered in the study.

Out of the total 43 texts considered, 25 are in Makhuwa and 18 in Swahili. These texts amount to a total of approximately 18700 words: ca. 10200 [6] from the Makhuwa texts and 8534 from the Swahili ones. There is therefore a slight imbalance in terms of the amount of data studied for the two languages. Another difference regards the amount of texts transcribed in each language. Whereas for Makhuwa, texts were transcribed by a team of local students and the transcription was necessary for even a superficial level of analysis, for Swahili the transcription process was much more selective. I was able to listen to Swahili recordings and for some of them transcribe only needed passages, due to a much deeper knowledge of the language. This resulted in all 25 Makhuwa texts being transcribed, but only 10 out of the 18 texts were fully transcribed for Swahili. Text types were consistent in both languages, as corresponding genres were collected in Makhuwa and Swahili to allow better comparison (as explained in section 2.4)

Not all texts received the same degree of attention throughout the study. A core set of texts was chosen for a pilot study of the topic and was examined from many aspects and in greater detail. This set is made up of one sample of each genre in each language, i.e. a description of The Pear Story and Staged Events videos, a folktale and a recipe each in Makhuwa and Swahili respectively. The hypothesis formulated in the pilot section of the study was then complemented by studying examples from the rest of the texts.

Even before the data is analysed, the way it is coded involves choices which affect the analysis itself. Therefore, in the following sections, the methods for transcribing, translating and segmenting the texts are described.

[6]The Makhuwa transcriptions were made by hand and only a part was later transfered to a digital version. For this reason the calculation of words is only approximate.

2.3.1 Transcription and translation

In transcribing the recorded texts, procedures varied in Makhuwa and Swahili. The Makhuwa recordings were transcribed and translated into Portuguese (all using pen and paper due to the unavailability of computers to work on) by two students of the Instituições de Formação de Professores (IFP) in Pemba, both training to become teachers at Makhuwa bilingual schools in the region. They were trained to write in Makhuwa according to the standardized rules, and I subsequently followed this established orthography throughout my study. The standard orthography however does not mark tone, which was added afterwards in some cases. I also provide an English translation as an additional layer to the transcription, based both on the Makhuwa and the Portuguese versions.

Having the Makhuwa transcriptions and translations done by a team on native speakers had its advantages as well as added certain complexities to the whole data collection process. Due to my low proficiency in Makhuwa, it would have been impossible to compile enough data for discourse analysis in the given time had it not been for the hard work of these students. However, as they were new to language transcription for the purpose of linguistic analysis, this process had its challenges. In order to illustrate the way recordings needed to be transcribed (e.g. reproducing exactly what is being said including when speakers corrected themselves or use 'incorrect' grammar) we transcribed the first few texts together. This allowed the students to understand the nature of my research as well as the specific need I had in regards to the transcriptions. When possible, we met and worked in the same space during the transcription process so that issues could be discussed straight away. The Swahili recordings, on the other hand, were transcribed and translated by me due to a sufficient language competence, and double-checked with native speakers. All the examples are glossed following both the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel et al. 2004) and Bantu glossing conventions (see the Preface).

The study of discourse is often interweaved with an understanding of the conceptual structure of texts encompassing a common general knowledge, something which

can at times be difficult for non-native speakers. This study, however, relies on relatively natural discourse data complemented by elicited examples and long discussions with speakers, so as to have access to various kinds of evidence in formulating the presented analysis. McGill (2009) addresses this problem in his study of Cicipu discourse, reflecting on how it compares to the more conventional method of introspective examination of discourse data, noting: "(...) some of the major problems associated with introspection as a research technique are eliminated by the reliance in this study on relatively 'authentic' discourse data, rather than examples constructed in elicitation sessions" (2009: 369). The same is considered to be true for the present study.

2.3.2 Prosodic segmentation

"Transcriptions of spoken language involve a number of decisions (...) One major decision pertains to the units into which the continuous flow of spoken language is to be segmented" (Himmelmann 2006: 253). This includes identifying smaller units roughly corresponding to morphophonological words but also bigger units of different sizes such as intonation phrases, sentences, paragraphs, etc. This results in written versions of spoken texts being presented in sentences and paragraphs divided by spaces and punctuation. Such segmentation is based on many factors including prosody, syntax and a semantic-pragmatic interface, but the process by which one ends up with such a representation is rarely described (Himmelmann 2006). This is in spite of the fact that it forms the basis of any analysis. This first stage in the handling of texts greatly influences the further study of discourse and has to be considered with care. Segmenting words can sometimes be an issue too, especially with less documented languages. In the case of the present study, word segmentation was a fairly straightforward matter, as established orthographic conventions in Makhuwa, Swahili and Bantu languages generally were followed as well as native speakers' practices based on their formal language education.

2.3.2.1 Intonation units

In discourse studies looking at statuses of participants and the way one can refer back to them throughout a text, one of the crucial factors is often the (non-)occurrence of a referent in the previous sentence(s). When analysing spoken as opposed to written discourse, however, the concept of 'sentence' becomes highly problematic. This aspect is often overlooked in linguistics research, as examples are presented in neatly formed sentences with precise boundaries marked by punctuation. How these boundaries correspond to real spoken discourse is often unclear and based heavily on syntactic aspects. When this issue is addressed, linguists most commonly refer to 'intonation units' (e.g. Lüpke 2005) or 'intonation phrases' (Götze et al. 2007).

> "The intonation unit (...) is widely held to be the basic unit into which native speakers themselves chunk their utterances, i.e. it is seen as a unit of speech production which in some sense has a psychological reality for the speakers" (Himmelmann 2006: 260).

This was also formulated by Chafe (1994), who considers intonation units 'functionally relevant segments' related to prosody. He believes that the way we process information in our consciousness depends on a certain division of this information linked to prosody. In presenting information to the hearer, Chafe sees an intonation unit as "(...) the bridge between the speaker's and the hearer's mind - the speaker's sometimes readjusts it to bring the hearer to the right focus" (1994: 69).

Having established that intonation units are meaningful segments for the study of discourse, the data in this study were segmented following prosodic criteria formulated in Himmelmann (2006) and Götze et al. (2007), although in the latter the term Intonation Phrase (IP) is used.

Götze et al. (2007) characterizes an IP as a phonological constituent roughly the size of a sentence, as it is often linked to the syntactic structure, but smaller constituents can also form separate IPs. This can be often the case with embedded clauses, items of a list, elliptical or cleft constructions, topicalisations and others. An IP is distinguishable as the domain of tonal realization and stress. IPs are also often defined by

boundary tones (depending on the language) which mean that a lexical item might have a different intonation depending on its phrase-final or phrase-medial position. Factors which further define this segmentation prosodically can be pitch, duration, stress and pauses. In addition, stress can also regulate the presentation of information within an intonation unit by expressing prominence of a certain element (this can be done both by primary and secondary stress). Himmelmann (2006) defines intonation units based on pitch and rhythm as presented in Table 2.1.

Pitch	(1)	the occurrence of a boundary tone at the end of an intonation unit, i.e. clearly perceptible change in pitch on the last syllable(s) of a unit
	(2)	a new onset at the beginning of the next unit, i.e. typically a jump in pitch between the offset of one unit and the beginning of the next one
	(3)	a reset of the baseline which is most clearly visible in the fact that early pitch peaks in the new unit are higher than the final pitch peaks in the preceding one
Rhythm	(1)	a pause in between two units
	(2)	lengthening of the final segment of a given unit
	(3)	anacrusis, i.e. an accelerated delivery of the unstressed syllables at the beginning of the new unit

Table 2.1: Evidence for intonation unit boundaries (Himmelmann 2006: 260-1)

Many of these criteria are of course intended as general guidelines, as the evidence varies in specific languages. Himmelmann (2006) finds, however, that cross-linguistically the most common and therefore most useful factors in determining intonation units are a final boundary tone and new onset in terms of pitch and pauses between units in terms of rhythm. This naturally varies according to language specific features and will be slightly different, for example, for tone languages like Mkahuwa. Although pauses are intuitively one of the strongest indicators of unit boundary, they cannot be used as the sole parameter as they can occur also within units (e.g. in hesitation or correction).

When trying to segment a text according to these prosodic parameters, it is often

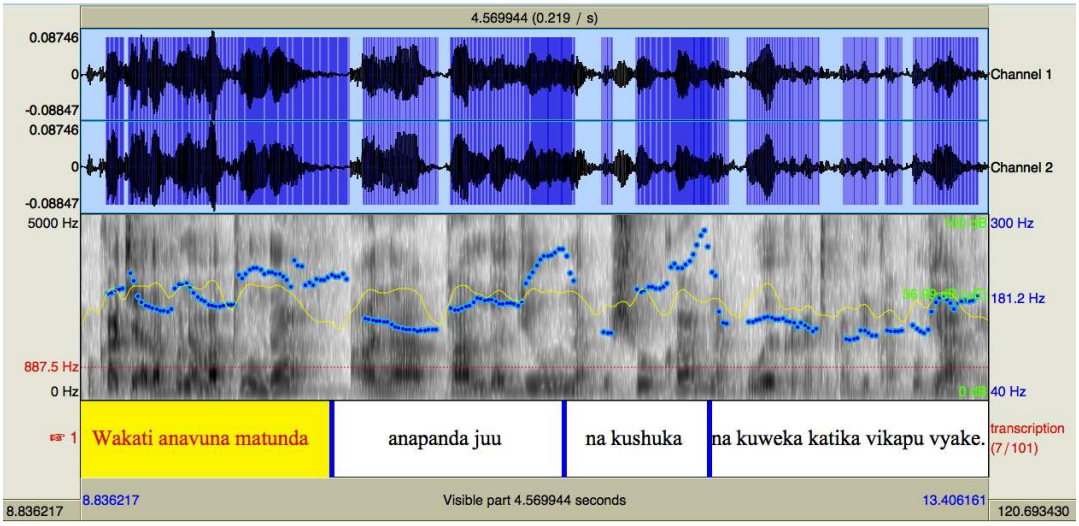

Figure 2.1: Example of a Praat window

complicated to restrain from referring to the semantic and syntactic structure too. The data in this study was therefore coded for intonation units following prosodic cues while following the meaning of texts at the same time. This reflects what are believed to be the main factors which influence the speaker in the way they choose to package information. To follow the prosodic parameters of the studied texts, Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2016) was used as shown in Figure 2.1.

In this example we can see an extract from a retelling of the Pear Story in Swahili in a Praat window. In the lower-most tier is the transcription of the text, the middle part is the spectrogram and the top layer represents the waveform. The spectrogram is modelled on a time value (from left to right) and a frequency value (from bottom to top). The frequency values therefore show how the pitch changes during a segment of a recording. In this case, the blue line in the text tier show the way this extract has been segmented into Intonation units. A raising boundary tone is visible at the end of each unit, with a pitch reset at the beginning of the following one in addition to pauses between units. This is therefore an example of how the texts are segmented into intonation units. The existing work on Swahili intonation (Maw & Kelly 1975, Ashton 1944) was also taken into consideration when segmenting Swahili texts.

In Chapter 4, further ways in which a text is structured are presented, mostly concerning semantic-pragmatic factors and grammatical patterns. One of them is the con-

cept of ‘paragraphs’ or ‘episodes’; i.e. a number of intonation units grouped together. Just as with intonation units, paragraphs also have certain prosodic cues that accompany them, and these can support the segmentation with grammatical and semantic evidence. In a way, these cues can be characterised as intensified versions of the parameters used to differentiate intonation units. According to Himmelmann (2006: 260-271) these include:

1. final boundary tone (strong fall to the lower bottom of the speaker’s range);
2. long pause (distinctly longer than the pauses between intonation units);
3. reset in declination (the baseline reaches its absolute minimum at the end of a paragraph and the new paragraph starts with a higher baseline than seen in the level of intonation units’ onsets);
4. initial particular pitch pattern (often associated with special lexical expressions introducing a new paragraph.

2.3.3 Syntactic segmentation

In the example presented in Figure 2.1, each intonation unit corresponds to an individual clause. For orthographic representations of clauses and intonation units, see the discussion of transcription conventions in Section 2.3.1.

(1) *Wakati anavuna matunda* |
‘At the time he was picking fruits,’
anapanda juu na |
‘he climbs up and,’
kushuka na |
‘comes down and,’
kuweka katika vikapu vyake |
‘puts (them) in his baskets.’

This is however not always the case, as an intonation unit can be smaller than a clause or include multiple clauses at the same time.

(2) *Na yeye anapanda baisikeli yake* | *na matunda yake* |
'And he climbed on his bike, with his fruit,'
anakwenda zake |
'and went to his (home).'

In example (2), the phrase *na matunda yake* 'with his fruit' constitutes an individual intonation unit, while at the same time being the adjunct within the clause 'And he climbed his bike with his fruit'. It is therefore evident that there is not always a one-to-one correlation between clauses and intonation units.

This study examines object marking in its discourse context in order to complement the better studied morphosyntactic factors with which it interacts. The phenomenon of object marking centrally involves co-indexing or anaphoric reference of the grammatical object – a syntactic concept with certain semantic and information structure features. As a result, when coding the data, it was important to segment the text in a way in which the arguments of each verb were clearly visible and analysed in terms of their object marking potential. Each text studied was therefore also segmented into clauses.

2.3.3.1 Clauses

The coding of clauses was mostly done following Thompson & Hopper (2001), who consider a clause to be any type of utterance containing a predicate. This includes both simple clauses and subordinate clauses. Thompson and Hopper excluded infinitival complement clauses in their study of English texts, but these were kept for the Bantu texts as Makhuwa and Swahili infinitives in many ways have more finite-like properties, as explained in more detail in chapter 5. Fragmented utterances including false starts as well as clauses in other languages (e.g. in English or Portuguese due to occasional code-switching) were discarded following coding practices in Lüpke (2005).

Finally, the studied texts have a transcription in the original language with interlinear morpheme-level glosses, followed by the English translation. Each line represents one clause and intonation units are marked throughout with the '|' symbol (this divisions are marked with a coma in the translation line. An example of a coded piece of text is presented below for illustration. A fully coded text in each language can be found in Appendix 1.

(3) *Katika video hii | kuna bwana mmoja |*
'In this video, there is a man,'
ambaye | yuko juu ya mti |
'who, is up in a tree,'
anavuna matunda |
'he is picking fruit.'

2.4 Genres

The various genres present in the corpus were partly strategically chosen, but mostly they emerged spontaneously from the type of informal fieldwork conducted. Some of the selected text types were needed for at least partial control of discourse factors and for comparability. But whenever possible, the choice of genres was adapted to the fieldwork situation by trying to work with genres which commonly occured in the community.

This section offers an overview of the various genres including narratives and procedural texts which were used in the study. The labelling of genres is however relatively loose, as a detailed classification of genres is not within the scope of this study and can be problematic. "Not only can genres be established through a combination of very different social and/or linguistic features, in different terminological traditions they can also contrast or overlap with other categories of discourse classification like register and style" (Lüpke 2005: 79). Instead, here genres are used to describe as closely as possible the cultural speech events recorded, and also to place these texts

within cross-linguistic genre studies. In addition, approaching the texts in this study according to their genre follows from the assumption that the structures and features of language are closely linked to its social function and the context of its use (Halliday 1978). As Dooley & Levinsohn (2000) note: "A large part of the analysis that is done on discourse can only be genre-specific" (2000: 4).

2.4.1 Narratives

Narratives are among the most studied discourse genres. They have been characterised by Labov (1972) for their sequential nature. The temporal sequence and especially the link to the use of different tenses and aspects in texts has been of interest to many researchers (e.g. Bertoncini 1990 for Swahili). Among the general characteristics of this genre are a fairly conventionalised storyline with a beginning, a climax(es) (i.e. the action peak of the story) and a conclusion as well as the 'agentivity' aspect of this genre formulated by Longacre (1996). This means that there is a focus on the agent(s) who carry out the events in the discourse. Clark (2012) remarks that the narrative genre "(...) can provide linguists with a wealth of data for research" (2012: 1); he focuses in particular on the study of participant reference. This genre is therefore a valid candidate for the study of discourse and its participants and analysing narrative texts offers the possibility of cross-linguistic reference and comparison with other studies.

Despite some valid general features, as in every genre, narratives are also highly culture specific. In this study, the focus is on oral narratives, most often of the folktale type. These come with their own ritualised act of performing, and even though they are mostly told by one narrator, there is often an expected interaction with the audience. The folktales in this study were collected on the premise that Swahili and Makhuwa speaking communities share a similar enough social and cultural background that there are no obvious major systematic differences in narrative conventions and storytelling traditions (in the sense noted by Bickel 2003 for the comparison of Himalayan languages). Stories are told by both women and men, although usually of the older gen-

eration. They come from a stock of well-known stories usually involving animals and each one represents a moral which should be taken away from it, similarly to fables in the European literary tradition. Most of the folktales recorded for this research were told by the fire at night to a relatively large audience.

2.4.2 Procedural texts

As cooking was a central activity of the community group I recorded, procedural text was an appropriate genre to select. Recipes were collected for dishes cooked during the recording sessions. Moreover, recipes by their nature often involve handling of objects, making them ideal for the study of object marking and reference tracking. Longacre (1996) defines this genre in opposition to narratives as they both have a sequential character but procedural texts lack agentivity, as the focus is on the activity performed rather than on the agent.

A difference between the folktales recorded in the field and these procedural texts is that these recipes were prompted by me and were not an already established cultural genre (noted also by Lüpke 2005 on action description). Having said that, instances were recorded of older women advising younger ones on how to prepare a specific meal and the language used was no different from the 'requested' recipes. So even if recipes were not a well-defined genre, they clearly have a set structure which is commonly used. In terms of the study of discourse, recipes are also a useful genre for cross-linguistic comparison, as topics such as anaphora in recipes have been researched, at least for Indo-European languages (e.g. Norrick 2011, Gerhardt 2013).

2.5 Comparative qualitative approach

It is always a difficult situation when one embarks on exploring a lesser-studied phenomenon in a not-yet-well-documented language; in this case the phenomenon being Bantu discourse and the language being Makhuwa and to a certain extent also Swahili. The choice of topic might seem unfeasible to some, but as explained in chapter 1, in

order to move the study of this field forward it is important to attempt to identify patterns and tendencies which can give direction for further research. In this section, I will explain the comparative qualitative approach adopted here and how using a small study such as this can point to larger questions leading to further research. In so doing I will show how this study is therefore a distinct contribution to the field of Bantu linguistics. Firstly, the place of qualitative methods in this study is discussed. In the future, a discourse study of object marking in a quantitative corpus study will obtain patterns and that will enable us to make general observations about the language. In order to perform such a study, two things are needed: firstly, a reasonably sized language corpus, and secondly, a preliminary study of the language phenomenon which will reveal what to look for and show which initial hypotheses can be confirmed or discarded. This has also been noted by Schmied (1993) who shows that qualitative and quantitative approaches to corpus linguistics can complement each other. He further states that a qualitative approach must precede any quantitative analyses, as it explores the basic concepts and system elements. The present study sets out to do exactly that - it begins by gathering material and proposing preliminary hypotheses which will further large-scale in-depth language-specific research. Rather than yielding statistical information, this study examines a restricted number of texts in depth. It discusses problems and findings for each noteworthy example which emerged and what they mean for the established syntactic and semantic categories linked to objects and object marking. Such an in-depth qualitative approach provides the basis for possible future studies which aim to further address the main research questions of this study. McEnery & Wilson (1996) explain the advantages of an in-depth qualitative study and its detailed outcomes, which make it an important step in formulating research questions and choosing appropriate categories for large-scale quantitative analyses of language data.

> "Qualitative forms of analysis offer a rich and detailed perspective on the data. In qualitative analyses, rare phenomena receive, or ought to receive, the same attention as more frequent phenomena and, because the aim is complete detailed description rather than quantification, delicate variation

> in the data is foregrounded: qualitative analysis enables very fine distinctions to be drawn since it is not necessary to shoehorn the data into a finite number of classifications" (McEnery & Wilson 1996: 76).

Therefore, it is also the case of this study that a better understanding of object marking in discourse can inform future research and help better formulate the focus and questions of language-specific studies, as well as larger-scale typological work. At the same time, patterns observed in this study remain preliminary and specific to the collected data rather than stating generalisations about the languages under study.

We now move to the reasons for the comparative element of this study. By comparing the linguistic phenomenon of OM in discourse in more than one language, this study contributes to ongoing research and increasing interest in micro-variation in the Bantu language family.

The aim of this study is to better understand the use of object marking in discourse. By studying two related languages carefully chosen for their very different OM paradigms, this study aims to compare the effect of these significant morphological differences on functional aspects of language use in discourse, while keeping the overall typological/morphosyntactic profile of the languages relatively constant.

Moreover, by obtaining comparable texts, the use (or lack of use) of OMs or other referring expressions can be observed in very similar contexts in the two languages. Extracts from the two languages can therefore inform each other, as will become clear in later chapters where individual examples are discussed. It is precisely for this reason that when collected data is presented and analysed (Chapters 7-9), Makhuwa and Swahili are discussed alongside each other rather than in separate chapters.

Chapter 3

Morphosyntactic theoretical background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of the theoretical work on which this study is based. It explores the notions of object and object marking studied mostly from a morphosyntactic perspective, as well as elements of semantics, pragmatics and information structure which have been linked to them in existing literature.

It is impossible to discuss object marking without first understanding objects. Some important investigations into this notion are presented here, focusing especially on studies related to Bantu languages. Although often framed within the context of syntax, any attempt to define objects and object marking also touches on other layers of linguistics such as semantics and pragmatics, as well as discourse. This chapter therefore goes beyond purely syntactic definitions and highlights the many cases where discourse-dependent factors are invoked in order to fully understand these concepts and account for their presence.

Firstly, in Section 3.2 this chapter discusses some problems with the definition of objects and the criteria generally used to define them such as syntactic tests and semantic and pragmatic properties. The next section 3.3 explores object marking, going

from a more general cross-linguistic context to the Bantu situation. An overview of previous research on the morphological and syntactic properties of objects is presented here. Following this, in Section 3.4 phenomena which call for a reconsideration of the canonical notions of objects are presented such as the unclear syntactic status of locatives in Bantu, issues of transitivity and double object constructions. Section 3.5 is dedicated to information structure and its link to objects and object marking both in Bantu and cross-lingustically.The final section of the chapter 3.6 is a brief overview of the relevant aspects of grammar for Bantu languages generally.

Overall, this chapter follows the general idea of the study in taking the existing (mostly syntactic) knowledge on this topic as the base for this research and then adding a discourse perspective to it (discussed in the following chapter), arguing that only by considering all these factors together we will gain a full understanding of object marking in Makhuwa and Swahili.

3.2 Objects

The concept of object is central to the discussion on object marking, its definiton is, however, widely debated. The need for a comprehensive description of abstract notions such as 'object' in Bantu has been raised in a number of studies such as Schadeberg (1995). In order to put the discussion on Bantu languages into a wider context, one would ideally describe Bantu object characteristics following a more general cross-linguistic description of objects. This is difficult to find, however, as definitions change notably according to different linguistic theories and approaches, and fewer universal tendencies have been identified for objects than, for example, for subjects (such as Keenan 1976).

> "Objects are generally more problematic than subjects because there are fewer grammatical processes applying exclusively to specific types of objects. It can therefore be difficult to tell whether variations in the coding features of object-like NPs reflect differences in their grammatical rela-

tions" (Andrews 2007: 180).

More often grammatical functions are defined according to the specific theories in which the definitions are formulated. Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) identifies grammatical functions based on their coding and behavioral grammatical properties but stresses that there is still a great variation in these properties from language to language. These can include object agreement or special relativisation strategies (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011).

Hudson (1992) discusses double object constructions, and in doing so identifies certain parameters of 'objecthood'. According to these parameters, he compares the two objects of a ditransitive verb to the object of a transitive verb to decide which one is more 'object-like'. Even though his work is based mostly on English, his analysis serves as a useful guide. Most of his parameters can be divided into two groups: syntactic and semantic ones. Among syntactic properties we find for example ability to undergo passivisation (i.e. ability of the object to function as subject of the corresponding passive construction), ease of extraction, control with infinitival phrases, and also being a complement of the verb. Among the most important semantic features, on the other hand, Hudson identifies the property of being subcategorized for by the verb, having a tendency towards certain prototypical semantic roles, and lastly animacy features.

Cross-linguistically, a combination of the way arguments are coded (such as case-marking or agreement) and the correspondence of arguments with prototypical semantic roles is the most common way to define grammatical relations. Andrews (2007), for example, explains objects in English using such a system:

> "The class of two-argument verbs taking an agent and a patient is important enough to give it a name: we shall call these verbs 'primary transitive verbs' (PTVs). Languages always seem to have a standard way or small set of ways in which they normally express the agent and patient of a PTV. If an NP is serving as an argument of a two-argument verb, and receiving a morphological and syntactic treatment normally accorded to an agent of

> a PTV, we shall say that it has the grammatical function A; if it is an argument of a verb with two or more arguments receiving a treatment normally accorded to the patient of a PTV, we shall say that it has the grammatical function P. (...) In English, for example, P can be identified with the grammatical relation 'object' " (Andrews 2007: 139)

In addition to such definitions being very generic, the problem with relying on semantic roles is that they too have greatly varying definitions and often different terminology in different linguistic traditions. The search for a narrower definition therefore becomes circular. In the next sections, some of the aforementioned syntactic and semantic features which have been used for defining objects in Bantu are presented.

3.2.1 Syntactic tests

When testing for objecthood in Bantu languages, Hyman & Duranti (1982) rely on three syntactic tests. These include word order, subjectivisation and clitisation. According to these tests an object in Bantu "...should have access to the position immediately following the verb, should be capable of assuming the subject role through passivisation and should be expressible as a clitic object marker within the verbal complex" (1982: 220).

These are taken as important indicators of objecthood even outside of Bantu and follow from cross-linguistically common approaches in defining grammatical functions. Andrews (2007) identifies as the main strategies for coding of grammatical functions: order and arrangement, NP-marking and cross-reference. Apart from NP-marking, which can include for example case marking, which is not present in Bantu, the other two strategies are in accordance with Hyman and Duranti's (1982) parameters. Order and arrangement corresponds to the post-verbal position of objects and cross-reference to object marking.

Schadeberg (1995) develops this notion further when describing the difficulty of finding universally valid object characteristics within Bantu. He refers to the same three widely used tests: word order, subjectivisation and clitisation. In his opinion,

however, these tests pick out a group of elements wider than what is commonly referred to as objects. This is a more general issue with objects, as Andrews (2007) also notes the existence of 'non-canonical' objects which share only some characteristics of objects.

In the case of Bantu languages, Schadeberg (1995) goes on to propose four additional criteria, although he recognises that they, too, are sometimes problematic. These are: object case marking by tone, metatony of verb forms[1] , shortened verb forms and transitive agent nouns. These parameters are more language specific and cannot always be applied. However, in the following chapter we find two of them relevant for Makhuwa. Makhuwa has both the conjoint/disjoint distinction where 'shortened verb forms' correspond to conjoint verb forms, and also a tone system where the tone pattern of a NP changes according to this verb form alternation (see Chapter 3 on Makhuwa grammar for more details).

3.2.2 Semantic and pragmatic properties of objects

When looking at factors influencing objecthood other than morphosyntax, Hyman & Duranti (1982) develop several semantic and pragmatic hierarchies that help define objects in terms of their tendencies. Firstly, they formulate a hierarchy of semantic roles (1a), noting that other case relations might need to be added for Bantu such as causative agents and locatives. Secondly, a hierarchy combining person and animacy factors is defined, as illustrated in (1b). According to Hyman and Duranti, the person-animacy factor is considered the most influential in determining which arguments will acquire object properties. Lastly, a hierarchical relation is established among more 'determined' or 'individuated' referents and less determined ones (1c). This hierarchy then predicts that definite singulars have a higher position than indefinite ones and nonspecific plurals.

(1) a. benefactive > recipient > patient > instrument

[1]The change of nature of tone "(...) where the tone of the final (inflectional) suffix of certain verb forms is (underlyingly) high before an object and low otherwise" (Schadeberg 1995:176).

b. 1st > 2nd > 3rd human > 3rd animal > 3rd inanimate

c. definite > indefinite

According to these hierarchies, the higher up an element is on these scales, the more likely it is to bear object properties. Following this, a human definite benefactive constituent is a more likely candidate for the object position than an inanimate indefinite instrument. These semantic/pragmatic factors of tendency towards a semantic role and animacy fit within the general object-properties identified by Hudson (1992) and discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

In addition, by looking at affected possessor constructions and applicative constructions with a non-human benefactive and a human patient, Hyman & Duranti (1982) establish that certain arguments acquire object properties along an 'affectedness' scale. The higher the status (therefore the more affected) the higher the likelihood of gaining object properties. As a consequence, Hyman and Duranti state that being an object means being an important participant in an event. This therefore points to the importance of discourse in the study of objects.

But as semantic and pragmatic parameters are not yet studied and defined in great detail, syntactic properties of passivisation, word order and object marking still maintain their status as key factors in recognizing objects in Bantu (Mchombo 2004, Riedel & Marten 2012 amongst others).

It should be noted, however, that word order has been more and more often discussed as being also greatly influenced by discourse in Bantu languages, although it is still possible to determine a canonical pattern (see for example Van der Wal 2009 for Makhuwa). We now turn to the parameter of object marking which is central to this study.

3.3 Object marking

As discussed above, object marking is often cited as one of the main criteria on the basis of which one can identify objects in Bantu (Hyman & Duranti 1982). However, in

their work on object marking, Marten & Kula (2012) point to a great variation in object marking strategies among Bantu languages, and to the fact that "... if object marking were indicative of syntactic objecthood, the syntax of different Bantu languages would employ very different kinds of objects, and a coherent notion of grammatical object would be difficult to establish" (2012: 15). It is therefore important to revise the function of object markers and their status as indicative test for objects. This is especially significant in the light of Makhuwa and its reduced object marking system whose effect on the argument structure of the verb has not yet been clarified (Kisseberth 2003).

In this section I will look at some formal properties of object markers as well as at their analysis as either agreement or pronominal elements. Some semantic and pragmatic features which affect their presence are also presented so that these issues can be further related to the reduced object marking system in Makhuwa as well as the object marking paradigm in Swahili.

3.3.1 Morphology of object markers

In Bantu languages an object marker typically carries noun class, person and number features and has often the same shape as a subject marker (Riedel 2009b). The two can be distinguished based on the position in the verb template and sometimes by the tone pattern. Most Bantu languages allow only one object marker, but some languages allow several which in most cases then have a fixed order (except, for example, in Tswana and Kwanyama; see Marten & Kula 2012). In contrast to subject marking, object marking is never obligatory for all objects in any Bantu language (Riedel 2009b).

Within the verbal template, the object marker can be found both in the pre-stem and post-stem position. Beaudoin-Lietz et al. (2004) present a typology based precisely on this aspect of the morphology. Their examination of 72 languages resulted in splitting languages into three different types. The first type are languages with only pre-verbal object markers, the second those with only post-verbal object marking and the last type languages with both pre-verbal and post-verbal marking. However, Marten and Kula (2012) point to the problem of analyzing both pre-verbal and post-verbal object

markers in the same way, as the latter might be considered post-verbal clitics or more similar to 'normal' pronouns based on their distribution and position criteria (Marten and Kula 2012). As a result, in this study we will focus mostly on pre-verbal object markers as they are more relevant for our discussion on Swahili and Makhuwa object marking.

3.3.2 Agreement vs. pronominal theory

The majority of the literature on object marking in Bantu languages is based on the dichotomy of classifying object markers as either grammatical agreement (Riedel 2009) or incorporated pronouns (Bresnan & Mchombo 1987). The latter is argued to be true for languages such as Chichewa where an object marker can appear without a corresponding lexical expression of the object. Other arguments in support of the 'pronominal' analysis of object markers are an object marker being required when an object NP is dislocated (as in instances of topicalisation) and object markers licensing free word order (cf. Riedel 2009). Henderson (2006), relying on the criteria of whether a language (dis)allows the co-occurrence of object markers with full NPs, argues "(...) that OMs are agreement markers in some Bantu languages (Swahili, Chichewa, Zulu), but pronominal clitics in others (Dzamba, Lingala, Kirundi)" (2006: 181).[2]

However, such analyses are often very theory-internal and inconclusive, as similar arguments are used in support of either side (see Baker 2012 and Kramer 2014 for Amharic). Furthermore, the theory-specific terminology used makes it difficult to define whether unifying notions are valid cross-linguistically. For example, in certain interpretations of object markers as pronominal elements, the co-occurring lexical objects are analysed as adjuncts (Baker 1996). However, Haspelmath (2013) points out the lack of systematic cross-linguistic evidence in support of this claim (cf. Siewierska 2001). This has consequences for the identification and comprehensive definition of objects in Bantu and their relation to object marking.

Haspelmath (2013) attempts to bring together this debate (which is not unique to

[2]This is a simplified summary of the arguments, see Riedel (2009b), Bresnan & Mchombo (1987), Zeller (2014), amongst others, for a fuller account.

Bantu languages) by applying certain cross-linguistic generalisations in order to facilitate language description and typological comparison. Using the concept of 'argument indexing' on the verb as a more neutral term, he divides what he calls 'person indexes' (morphologically bound person forms which contrast with independent person forms, i.e. personal pronouns) into three groups. On one end of the spectrum we find 'pro-indexes' that "...like independent pronouns occur in complementary distribution with full nominal, and they cannot be co-nominated by free pronouns either" (2013: 205-6). In contrast, 'gramm-indexes' are person indexes where the conominal[3] (corresponding NP) is obligatorily present at all times.

Object marking in Bantu languages does not appear to belong strictly to either of these patterns and object markers would therefore fall into the third group of 'cross-indexes'. In this pattern of indexing, also referred to as cross-referencing (the same term used also by Andrews 2007 for the typological discussions of object coding), the corresponding NP can but does not have to co-occur depending on language-specific criteria. Siewierska (2004) claims that this kind of indexing is the most common across languages. Haspelmath (2013) argues that these cross-indexes should be regarded as phenomena sui generis rather that a special type of another pre-established category which in his opinion has been holding back the possibility of a unified typological classification. The same could be said about the ongoing debate on object marking in Bantu.

As the aim of this study is not to develop a specific analysis within a syntactic theory, object markers will be described in terms of cross-referencing rather than in terms of agreement or other categories. This will enable us to study OM and discourse without pre-conceptions on their syntactic status, focusing instead on their patterns of use in language.

In regard to Bantu languages, a comprehensive systematic description of factors interacting with the (non-)occurrence of object marking is missing (but see Riedel 2009, Marten and Kula 2012), as this has been overly influenced by the need to support

[3]Co-referential nominals co-occuring with argument indexes (Haspelmath 2013: 199)

either the agreement or the pronominal analysis. Some correlations have been noticed however with the use of OMs in relative constructions and the influence of semantic and pragmatic factors. Both topics are discussed in the next sections.

3.3.3 Object marking in relative contexts

Henderson (2006), in his work on relative constructions in Bantu, explores the issue of object marking occurring in simple object relatives (or more widely in non-subject relatives). He notes a three-way variation among Bantu languages studied in his thesis, namely where one type of language disallows OMs in a relative context, another allows OM in a relative construction but such marking is not obligatory (with some restrictions), and the last group of languages where OMs in relatives are obligatory. The correlations between object marking in relative constructions and object marking and overt NP co-occurrence within a language are formulated as in (2).

(2) a. Languages that do not allow NP-OM co-occurrence do not allow object markers in relative clauses.

b. Languages that do allow NP-OM co-occurrence allow or require object markers in relative clauses.

c. Languages that do not allow NP-OM co-occurrence do not display the '-o- of reference' in relative clauses.

(Henderson 2006: 61)

Based on these observations, Henderson advocates for object marking in relative constructions to be interpreted as agreement markers rather than resumptive pronouns (as has been assumed in previous literature), as this would explain the correlation with the (dis)allowance of OM with full NPs (Henderson 2006).

3.3.4 Semantic and pragmatic hierarchies

Marten & Kula (2012) look at the co-occurrence of the object marker and the corresponding object NP as one of the seven main parameters in their study on object

marking and morphosyntactic variation in Bantu. They note that where the object marker and the NP can co-occur in the same syntactic and prosodic domain there are several differences among the 12 studied Bantu languages. This is both in terms of the circumstances under which this can occur and the context in which it is obligatory. Marten and Kula attribute this wide variation to widely linguistically observed hierarchies based on features such as saliency and animacy, as formulated for instance by Silverstein (1976). This has been applied to Bantu languages by Duranti (1979) who suggests a hierarchy of accessibility of objects to object marking based on similar features.

Duranti (1979) explains the presence of object markers with the notion of 'topicality'. His topicality hierarchy is defined based on three factors: person (a), thematic role (b) and animacy (c) as shown below. The higher an object is on the hierarchy, the more likely it is to be co-indexed on the verb.

(3) Topicality hierarchy

a. 1st > 2nd > 3rd

b. benefactive > goal > patient > instrument/locative

c. human > animate > inanimate (Duranti 1979: 32)

Henderson (2006) supports the view that object marking is connected to topicality, as he finds definiteness and referentiality - often associated with OMs (Ashton 1944, Deen 2006, Riedel 2009b) - not sufficient to explain this phenomenon in his work on relative constructions. Henderson considers the most useful property to take into account to be 'givenness' or 'topicality', although as he notes this remains to be specifically defined for Bantu languages (Henderson 2006).

The link between object marking and semantics/discourse related hierarchies has been noted to different extents also in studies of particular Bantu languages. In Chaga, object marking is obligatory if it co-occurs with lexical pronouns (Bresnan & Moshi 1990). In comparison, in Sambaa object marking is obligatory with certain determined classes of nouns; namely proper names, kinship terms, titles that are unique in a given

context, words referring to people with high status and with first and second person pronouns (Riedel 2009). This is not necessarily in conflict with the topicality hierarchy but shows the need for more detailed language-specific hierarchies.

Duranti (1979) further exemplifies the topicality hierarchy in Sambaa and Haya, two of the languages which can take more than one object marker. According to Duranti, the order of multiple object markers in the verb template of these languages is influenced precisely by the topicality hierarchy. "The higher the status of the pronoun the closer to the verb stem it should get" (1979: 38). In most studies, even when reference is not made to Duranti's hierarchy, object marking is linked to one of the semantic/pragmatic features it is based on.

Morimoto (2002) supports the idea that differential object marking in Bantu depends on the animacy and specificity of the object. However, she attributes this to the general cross-linguistic tendency to overtly mark non-prototypicality (this can be by case marking, agreement or other strategies available in the language) rather than to topicality.

A link between the occurrence of OMs and augments in certain languages has also been observed. Augments are morphemes present in some Bantu languages such as Zulu which precede the noun class prefix and can have a wide range of functions, usually syntactically driven (Katamba 2003). Their link to the occurrence of OMs seems to be due to both phenomena being influenced or triggered by definiteness. Henderson (2006) notes this for Zulu. "It is impossible for an unaugmented NP to co-occur with an object marker. If the NP is to come with an object marker, it must have the augment. In that case, a non-specific reading is ruled out" (2006: 200).

From the studies summarised in this section it is clear that even though object marking has been mostly examined for its ambiguous syntactic status, many discourse related phenomena often come up in connection to its occurrence. Factors such as animacy, person, definiteness and specificity as well as topicality are strongly related to discourse. Object marking of first and second person relates to marking of deictic reference to participants in an event that is being talked about. Definiteness and speci-

ficity of an object depend on the context they are uttered in and the assumed common knowledge of the speaker and the listener. Topicality – even though it is talked about within a single sentence too – can refer to the prominence within the wider discourse context (Dooley 2007). And even animacy, a seemingly purely semantic concept, has a lot to do with discourse, as animate and non-animate elements tend to be prototypically associated with certain types of participants in discourse and are therefore marked accordingly. The study of object marking within its discourse context therefore comes as a natural development of these factors. This is not a completely novel idea, as studies of object marking in discourse have been undertaken for some languages (e.g. Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997 for Swahili, discussed in Chapter 4) and mentioned in others (Morimoto 2002, Riedel 2009a amongst others). The present study sets out to address this gap through further examination of object marking within its surrounding discourse in naturalistic data, as opposed to isolated elicited sentences.

3.4 Issues in recognising objects

As discussed above, there is no precise definition of objects, and even though certain properties have been attributed to them, no reliable cross-linguistic tests can be applied. In the following sections, certain issues are explored that occur when trying to recognise objects or types of objects in Bantu languages. The focus is on contexts in which object marking is used or in which it is expected to be used but it does not occur.

3.4.1 Double object constructions

Bantu languages usually have a small group of ditransitive verbs (that is verbs with no derivational morphology which take two NP 'object-like' complements without marking either one with a preposition) which often includes verbs meaning 'give', 'steal', 'smear', 'hide', 'ask' and 'teach' (Hyman and Duranti 1982). For example, in (4), from Haya, the verb *akah'* 'give' takes two unmarked complements, *ómwáán'* 'child' and *ébitooke* 'bananas':

(4) *A-ka-h'* *ómwáán'* *ébitooke.*
he-PST3-give child bananas
'He gave the child bananas.' (Hyman and Duranti 1982:218)

Other cases in which two 'object-like' NPs can occur without a preposition involve constructions where an affected possessor is realised as an object, a process which is sometimes referred to as 'possessor raising' or external possession (e.g. Payne & Barshi 1999). For example, in (5), the logical possessor *ómwáán'* 'child' appears to function as the indirect/primary object of the verb *akahénd'* 'break':

(5) *A-ka-hénd' ómwáán' ómukôno.*
he-PST3-break child arm
'He broke the child's arm'.

(Hyman and Duranti 1982:219)

In these cases, however, it can be shown using syntactic tests that the possessor is the only 'real' object while the possessed item is a 'prepositionless' oblique, i.e. an oblique argument which does not exhibit any morphological marking which is usually associated with this type of argument and therefore appears superficially to have the same status as a secondary/direct object of a ditransitive verb. The syntactic tests which can be used to show that this element is in fact an oblique include word order (only the object can directly follow the verb), passivisation and object marking (for more details see Hyman and Duranti 1982).

The last kind of construction with two object-like NPs involves verbs with derivational extension such as the applicative. The applicative derivational affix adds an object to the argument structure of the verb. It can also increase the valency of a verb by promoting an element which has the status of an adjunct NP or PP in the default transitive variant of the construction to the status an object. In terms of semantics in Bantu languages, the applicative typically adds a beneficiary, instrument or locative element to the argument structure of the verb. Peterson (2007), in his discussion of Bantu applicatives, evaluates the obligatory vs. optional use of applicative in such constructions based on a semantic role distinction. He presents examples where beneficiary or recipient constructions are obligatorily expressed by applicatives, but with locative or instrument type arguments the use of the applicative is optional (and this second element is expressed as an oblique). This could be also linked to the issue of animacy, as beneficiaries and recipients are more likely to be animate than locations or instruments. Whether this link to animacy has to do with the discourse status of different objects, namely their topicality is an issue that should be further explored (see Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011 for further discussion of this issue). Moreover, where the use of the applicative is optional, the question arises of the motivation for its use

in particular discourse contexts. It has been suggested that the use of applicatives is motivated by pragmatics (Marten 2002, Peterson 2007). If including an element as an object rather than an oblique is linked to pragmatic/discourse functions, a parallel can be considered with the optional use of an OM to achieve similar results (see the discussion of locatives in Section 3.4.2).

Whether formed through derivation or not, double object constructions are relevant for this study as they show that there are different 'types' of objects. This is crucial for recognizing objects in discourse especially as their interaction with object marking varies for different kinds of objects.

3.4.1.1 Symmetric vs. asymmetric languages

A large body of literature on Bantu languages has proposed that a language can be classified as symmetric or asymmetric depending on the syntactic behavior of objects in double object constructions. In languages displaying asymmetric properties, only one of the objects demonstrates 'primary object' properties such as passivisation, object marking on the verb or adjacency to the verb. In symmetrical-type languages, both objects can have the above mentioned characteristics, in which case both objects are treated as 'primary' (Bresnan & Moshi 1990).

Bresnan and Moshi (1990) identify five main differences between symmetrical and asymmetrical languages, namely accessibility to passivization, object marking, unspecified object deletion, reciprocalisation and the interaction of object properties. For example, a symmetrical language which allows unspecified deletion of the patient of a simple transitive verb (e.g. in English where the verb 'eat' can occur without a specified patient, as in 'he is eating') will also allow this process to occur with a double object construction, for example with an additional beneficiary object (as in the equivalent of 'he is eating for the wife'). By contrast, asymmetrical languages which allow deletion of an unspecified patient-like argument of a transitive verb do not allow it when a beneficiary object is added.

Among others, Mchombo & Firmino (1999) also explored the notion of symmetri-

cal and asymmetrical languages by focusing on two case studies, namely beneficiary applicative constructions in Chichewa and Gitonga. In deciding whether these languages belong to the symmetrical type or not, Mchombo and Firmino use five syntactic tests, similarly to the study of Bresnan and Moshi (1990). There is a lot of overlap between the syntactic tests used in both studies with some exceptions. While Bresnan and Moshi look at unspecified object deletion, Mchombo and Firmino test for the ability of the object to appear in a sentence-initial cleft position where it receives topic status.

Mchombo and Firmino come to the conclusion that their case study confirms the validity of dividing languages into symmetrical or not, but emphasize the importance of taking into consideration other aspects of language such as discourse which might interact with syntactic operations. The study shows that Chichewa is a prototypical asymmetric language, with all five tests supporting this interpretation. The analysis of Gitonga is not as straightforward. Mchombo and Firmino explain how the syntactic (a)symmetry of objects changes when it interacts with animacy. More precisely, if both objects are of the same animacy level, the word order, passivisation and object marking tests show asymmetrical object properties, while both objects display the same syntactic properties in these three tests when the objects differ in their degree of animacy. Reciprocalisation and clefting show consistent asymmetry, as only the patient-like (direct or secondary) object has access to these constructions. In the conclusion of the study this is summarized as follows:

> "It is in the interaction between grammatical and discourse notions that, in some languages such as Gitonga, the effects of the AOP (Asymmetrical Object Parameter) may be over-ridden under certain assignments of the values of animacy. This does not constitute an argument against the AOP. On the contrary, the facts about Gitonga are quite consistent with the AOP" (Mchombo & Firmino 1999: 230).

There are aspects of this study, however, which remain unclear and are symptomatic of the general discussion on (a)symmetry of Bantu languages with respect to double

object constructions. If Mchombo and Firmino's study supposedly validates AOP, it therefore considers it a useful tool to describe the difference between languages such as Chichewa and Gitonga. Therefore, if we take comparable examples from both languages of beneficiary applicatives with an animate beneficiary and inanimate theme/-patient, the first language shows asymmetrical treatment of objects and the second show symmetrical treatment. This is the case if we concentrate on word order, passivisation and object marking as syntactic tests. But what happens when we look at the remaining two tests, namely reciprocalisation and clefting, is less clear. Mchombo and Firmino state that in this case Gitonga, regardless of animacy differences, shows clear asymmetry between the two objects. However, this presumably indicates that these two tests show no difference between the two languages. It is therefore difficult to truly consider these two tests as a useful tool for this discussion.

Moreover, by setting apart animacy as a separate discourse component, it is implied that all these tests are purely syntactic. The reciprocal suffix, however, seems to have certain inherent semantic restrictions which affect the treatment of objects. As the meaning of the suffix is to 'reciprocate an action to each other', it implies a certain degree of volition and therefore animacy. Since in the only example of a reciprocal construction presented in the study, the theme object is inanimate (see example (6) from Gitonga), it is debatable whether regarding the inaccessibility of the theme object to reprocalization as being indicative of its syntactic properties is a valid argument. Rather, this might be a consequnce of a semantic restriction, namely that arguments in reciprocal constructions must necessarily be animate. The last test of wh-extraction also seems to have strong links to discourse, as it fronts a topicalised NP.

(6) a. *Dzimba dzi-tul-el-an-e lidimba.*
10.dogs SM10-FUT-open-APPL-RECIP-FV 5.door
'The dogs opened the door for each other.'

b. **Malimba ma-na-tul-el-an-a dzimbwa.*
6.doors SM6-FUT-open-APPL-RECIP-FV 10.dogs
Int. ('The doors opened the dogs for each other.')

(Mchombo & Firmino 1999: 227)

Even when only the first three tests are taken into account, Marten & Kula (2007) state that: "(...) word order possibilities change if semantic or pragmatic conditions vary" (2007: 231). As a conclusion, even though the division of Bantu languages according to the (a)symmetry with which they treat the two objects of a double-object construction is a valid typological tool, the set of parameters needs to be expanded to include more semantic and pragmatic factors. This will presumably give us a continuum with asymmetrical languages on one end and symmetrical on the other. In between, however, we would find many more degrees of variation based on specific factors including discourse. This also follows from the proposed semantic and pragmatic tendencies of objects involved in double-object construction. Discourse factors should therefore be included more systematically in distinguishing types of objects in double object constructions in Bantu languages. In addition, this might reveal a link between discourse and the asymmetries of object marking in the examples studied, as so far these have typically been taken out of context and analysed from a syntactic perspective.

3.4.2 Locatives

(Bearth 2003: 125) describes locative expressions as "(...) ambivalent with regards to the adjunct/argument dichotomy". Indeed, locative constituents in Bantu languages have posed a problem in a number of syntactic analyses due to their unclear syntactic status (Riedel & Marten 2012). For example, in Swahili, when studying applicative constructions, the problematic status of the notion of object in Bantu becomes apparent when trying to define what can be classified as an applied object and what cannot.[4] More precisely, this involves locative nouns in Swahili which sometimes lose their locative suffix when functioning as the argument of an applied verb.[5]

(7) a. *A-li-kaa ki-ti-ni*
SM1-PST-sit 7-chair-LOC
'He/she was sitting on a chair.'

[4]Swahili examples with applicatives come from my own corpus unless stated otherwise. They were collected from the same Swahili speakers introduced in this study but for a different research project.

[5]This is subject to certain pragmatic conditions as discussed in Marten (2002).

b. *A-li-kal-i-a* *ki-ti*
SM1-PST-sit-APPL-FV 7-chair
'He/she was sitting on a chair.'

Whether this indicates that the locative phrase changes its status from a more 'adjunct-type' phrase to a direct object is unclear. Locative phrases seem to have an ambiguous status in Bantu languages in general, as it is difficult to verify whether location expressions with the locative suffix *-ni* such as in *bahari-ni* (sea-LOC) 'at/in the sea' (Swahili) are derived locative nouns or a prepositional phrase. With respect to their link to the use of applicatives in Swahili, the situation is even more complex as the co-occurrence of a location with the *-ni* suffix and the applicative is not consistent and systematic. As the examples in (8) show, the Swahili verb 'die' does not show the expected variance in marking of locative arguments with applied verb. Both the non-applied and applied variants must combine with a locative argument which exhibits locative marking:

(8) a. *A-li-f-i-a* *bahari-ni* / **bahari*
SM1-PST-die-APPL-FV 9.sea-LOC / 9.sea
'He died at sea.'

b. *A-li-kufa* *bahari-ni* / **bahari*
SM1-PST-die 9.sea-LOC / 9.sea
'He died at sea.'

This is contrary to what is expected, as with other examples of applicative alternations, the non-patient-like argument typically does not exhibit oblique marking when it functions as the argument of the applied variant of the verb. As this study argues, the problem with such elicited sentences is the lack of context. One of the issues with the examples above is the different understanding of the sentence. The difference between (8a) and (8b) could be in their semantics, as 'he died at sea' could have the 'sea' as a location but also as a cause. This could maybe explain the use of the applicative in (8a) (in the sense of 'he died because of the sea') but would still not explain the obligatoriness of the locative *-ni* suffix in this case.

A number of studies have approached this issue by exploring the availability of locative elements to object marking, one of the main criteria for objecthood. Marten & Kula

(2012) looked at whether locative objects can be expressed by respective locative object markers in different Bantu languages, the number of such markers, or whether such markers exist in the language at all. Their findings show great variation, going from languages with a distinct OM for each of the three locative classes[6] (Setswana), languages which use one OM for all the locative classes (Haya) and languages where OMs for locative classes do not exist (Lozi) (Marten and Kula 2012: 243-244).

Riedel & Marten (2012) also explore the status of locative elements as objects in relationship to their ability to trigger object marking. If we consider word order, Bantu locatives seem to pattern with adjuncts, as they can follow any argument and have a fairly flexible position. However, when it comes to object marking, they seem to have a number of characteristics that group them with objects, albeit with certain language specific restrictions. Sometimes a locative noun can trigger object marking, except if it appears inside a prepositional phrase, as in the following example from Sambaa. Examples (9a) and (9b) show that the locative argument can occur with object marking, whether or not it co-occurs with a preposition. (9c) shows that the locative can optionally control agreement on the verb when it does not combine with a preposition, while (9d) shows that this is impossible when the locative does combine with a preposition.

(9) a. *A-za-bua kaya.*
SM1-PERF.DJ-arrive home
'He arrived home.'

b. *A-za-bua na kaya.*
SM1-PERF.DJ-arrive with home
'He arrived home.'

c. *A-za-ha-bua kaya*
SM1-PERF.DJ-OM16-arrive home
'He arrived home.'

d. **A-za-ha-bua na kaya.*
SM1-PERF.DJ-OM16-arrive with home
Int. ('He arrived home.') (Riedel & Marten 2012: 5)

Individual languages differ with respect to how freely they allow locatives to be object

[6]Some Bantu languages have a fourth locative noun class (Class 23) however no language has been found with an OM corresponding to this class.

marked. For example in Sambaa, which allows multiple object marking, locatives can be object-marked provided the indirect object and direct object are object-marked first. In Haya, object marking is restricted only to locative nouns that occur as direct objects or as arguments with inherent 'goal' properties (Riedel and Marten 2012). In their study, Riedel and Marten come to the following conclusion:

> 'We have proposed that the particular qualities of locative object marking reflect the intermediate status of locative nouns between argument and adjunct, which, in turn, is related to wider grammaticalisation paths affecting (nominal and verbal) morphosyntax of locatives in Bantu. Because of this, locative object marking is not a good test for argumenthood' (Riedel and Marten 2012: 290).

Buell (2007), in his work on focus in Zulu, also acknowledges the unusual status of locatives phrases, as when they are focused their placement in a sentence is much freer compared to other focused noun phrases.

> '... for three narrow focus contexts tested, there is a strong preference, just short of being a requirement, for the focused noun phrase to immediately follow the verb. In contrast, focused lexical locative arguments can follow non-focal intervenors' (Buell 2007:168).

This is an issue which is not unique to Bantu languages. Andrews (2007), in his discussion on oblique prepositional phrases in English, also raises the issue of the difficulty of whether to classify some of these as arguments of the verb or adjuncts. While arguments are lexically selected by the predicate, adjuncts are more freely distributed, as long as they are semantically fitting. Andrews notes that there are examples of obliques found in both groups. Even though the majority falls under the category of adjuncts, "(...) there still seems to be a category of obliques that are subject to lexical control, and which therefore may be reasonably regarded as a kind of argument" (Andrews 2007: 159). This is shown by the examples of both types in (10).

(10) a. John prodded the snake for fun (adjunct).

b. They supply us with weapons (argument).

(adapted from Andrews 2007: 158-9)

Even though these issues are language specific, it shows the fluidity of the argument-adjunct split. For example, in English, locatives are always adjuncts, but instrumentals are difficult to define as either adjuncts or arguments of the verb (for detailed discussion see Andrews 2007: 160).

3.4.3 Transitivity

As is clear from the previous sections, the problem with identifying objects is often underlyingly an issue with our understanding of the argument structure or transitivity of the verb. In fact, in syntactic analyses of transitivity, the fact that it is a notion based heavily on semantics as well as syntax is often overlooked. Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Thompson & Hopper (2001) have worked on defining transitivity as a complex phenomenon made up of various layers.

They work with the assumption that each predicate in the lexicon comes with a specification about its arguments and verb alternations it can participate in (Hopper and Thompson 2001). In describing these attributes of the verb (or predicate), they use Croft's (1991) notion of valence which differentiates between semantic and syntactic valency. Semantic valency describes the number of participants that must be 'on stage'; for example for the verb eat that would be two participants: the eater and what is being eaten. Syntactic valency, on the other hand, lists the number of participants which are actually overtly expressed in the clause. For the verb eat this could be either one or two, as in 'he's eating (crisps)' (Hopper and Thompson 2001: 41).

Hopper and Thompson argue that studies of argument structure often base their analysis on fabricated examples and have a very strong bias towards written language. They, on the other hand, propose a more 'usage-based' approach (2001: 47). This is explained on the example of differentiating between the English verb categories

of one participant and two-participant verbs. They discuss how these categories are variable and the boundary between them unstable. An example of this issue which is very relevant for the present study is 'object-deletion'. They consider the following sentences:

(11) a. It's time to eat.

b. You were driving through Denver.

(Hopper and Thompson 2001: 44)

Depending on whether the verbs eat and drive are categorised as one participant or two-participant verbs, one can analyse (11a) and (11b) in various and contrasting ways. They can be analysed as two-participant verbs with a deleted object, they can be labelled as intransitive uses of transitive verbs, or it can be said that each verb comes with two distinct argument structures (one with one participant and the other with two). Hopper and Thompson support the view that speakers know a range of forms which verbs collocate with according to the different senses they have. Speakers store and learn different uses of verbs gradually, as they encounter them. Hopper and Thompson further suggest that this has often to do with frequency more than anything else, hence the 'usage-based' approach. For example, when studied in a corpus of samples of spoken English, the verb drive was most frequently found with only one participant.

Another example of variable argument structure which Hopper and Thompson note is the connection of verbs with certain prepositional phrases.

(12) 'We all want to play with them'

(Hopper and Thompson 2001: 45)

In trying to determine whether play in play with them belongs to the category of one-participant or two-participant verbs, they find the tests inconclusive. This is again relevant for the discussion of Bantu languages, as it resembles the issue of uncertain syntactic status of object-marked locatives in Swahili.

Hopper and Thompson therefore suggest a study of argument structure that em-

braces the fluidity of categories and the wide variation of schemas in which a verb can appear. They suggest an approach based on actual use of language, or more precisely based on frequency. The most frequent verbs have the 'least strict' argument structure as they appear in a wide variety of constructions. On the other hand, lesser used verbs can only appear in more restricted contexts. "Argument structure is much more variable than is usually granted in the literature" (Hopper and Thompson 2001: 54).

More conceptually, Thompson and Hopper (2001 based on 1980) view the concept of transitivity as forming a continuum rather than distinct structures. It encompasses many factors, of which the number of participants is only one. Among the other studied component parameters which Hopper and Thompson (1980) consider are: aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, kinesis, agency, affectedness of object, and individuation of object. For the study and explanations of these parameters, see Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Thompson & Hopper (2001).

3.5 Information structure

This section will look at different ways in which objects have been linked to information structure and how this can help us in understanding the notion of 'object' in Bantu and more generally. Various hypotheses of how information structure interacts with object marking are also presented.

Güldemann (2007), when investigating marked word orders (namely O-V) in African languages, notes certain patterns connected to information structure. He finds that there are a number of Benue-Congo languages that associate specific positions with discourse saliency. He notes for Aghem, a Grassfields Bantu language spoken in Cameroon, that the positions before and after the verb correspond to certain types of information structure factors. Focused elements appear immediately after the verb while pragmatically less salient participants occupy the position before the verb (Güldemann 2007). He comes to the conclusion that: "(...) the grammatical relation between object and verb is inherently tied not only to certain semantic roles, but also to a pragmatic function" (Güldemann 2007: 93). More specifically, it can be argued that the object

position is linked to new information, and therefore to a 'focus' status.

Good (2006) also claims that the order of arguments in Benue-Congo languages is driven by information structure. He goes as far as suggesting that instead of the standard SVO frame of reference, a 'linearly-defined Topic-Predicate-Focus template' is a more appropriate tool when looking at the syntax of these languages.

We find studies of Bantu languages which provide strong evidence for a similar analysis. Buell (2007) explores the idea that the position immediately following the verb is a focus position in Zulu. This has been claimed for several Bantu languages including Makhuwa (Van der Wal 2009) and it is often referred to as 'IAV' position, i.e. Immediately After the Verb position. In an in-depth study of focus constructions in Zulu, Buell supports this claim but formulates a constraint of 'Focus-Induced Extraposition' which he sees as important addition to this analysis. "When a focused element appears in the verb phrase, no other elements appear in the verb phrase" (Buell 2007: 171). He also emphasizes that even though IAV is associated with the focus position, a non-focused element can appear following the verb.

This is also relevant for our discussion of object marking, as Good (2006) presents the idea that Bantu preverbal object prefixes should be understood as a recent development which came from Pre-Proto-Bantu object pronouns in preverbal topic position. The object pronouns later developed into, and so correspond to present day object markers. This would then be the reason why object marking is often linked to topicality.

According to Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011), in certain languages differential object marking is strongly linked to information structure. In their hypothesis, marked objects are associated with the topic function. This link might have been lost over time in some languages but some aspects of it have grammaticalised as marked objects might be associated with semantic features typical of topics such as animacy, definiteness or specificity. Even though the authors do not work on Bantu languages specifically, this perspective should be further investigated as it correlates with some of the hypotheses presented in Section 3.3 on object marking which highlight the importance

of factors like animacy.

In this study, these concepts are kept in mind, but the main focus is on the much needed analysis of such patterns across texts, with emphasis on the preceding and following context. This need has been noted also by McGill (2009):

> "Much of the recent work on agreement and agreement conditions has been done by researchers working in the LFG framework (e.g. Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2005), who have largely adopted Lambrecht's (1994) treatment of information structure. Consequently topic is considered to be an attribute of the clause or sentence, and the ways in which topics can develop across extended discourse is often ignored" (McGill 2009: 88).

3.6 Bantu languages : relevant grammatical features

This section briefly summarises some of the main grammatical features that characterise Bantu languages. The languages under study – Makhuwa and Swahili – have many of these features in common. The focus, as explained, is on noun phrases as well as aspects of verbs and clausal syntax. Outside of the morphosyntax discussed here, one element which differentiates Makhuwa and Swahili within the Bantu language family is tone; Makhuwa is a tonal language while Swahili does not use tone lexically or grammatically. In this regard, Makhuwa is closer to a 'typical' Bantu language as around 97% of the Bantu family is made up of tonal languages: the distinction is typically between high and low tones (Nurse & Philippson 2003). However, as the presence or absence of tone as such does not have a direct bearing on the referent tracking of objects in discourse, this phenomenon in Makhuwa is not considered in great detail.

Probably the most well-known common traits of Bantu languages are their highly agglutinative morphology and complex noun class systems. The noun classes are quite consistent across the languages in terms of how they are organised and paired, although the number of classes varies. For Proto-Bantu more than 20 noun classes have been reconstructed, but nowadays individual languages have lost some of them and have reduced paradigms of anything between 12-20 noun classes (Nurse and Phillipson 2003). This is still a defining trait of the Bantu languages; all nouns are assigned to a noun class. According to the class, the noun will exhibit a specific noun class prefix. Noun classes are also paired according to the singular and plural form of the

noun and this system is sometimes referred to as their 'gender' (Nurse and Phillipson 2003). For example, nouns in noun class 1 will often find their plural counterpart in noun class 2. However, some class 1 nouns might have their plural in a different noun class, therefore forming a different 'gender' pattern. The membership of a noun to a specific class is said to be semantically arbitrary, although this has been sometimes contested (e.g. Palmer & Woodman 2000 for Shona). The noun class of the head noun also determines the agreement pattern on the other constituents of a noun phrase as well as co-indexing markers on the verb. This is true for both anaphoric and grammatical agreement (Nurse and Phillipson 2003). In the noun phrase, the modifiers follow the head noun, although as noted also by Nurse and Phillipson, this can vary under different pragmatic conditions. This will be examined especially for demonstratives in this study.

Turning to verbs, these are said to be at the core of the Bantu clause. "Bantu languages have been described as verby. The verb is pivotal in the sentence, it incorporates much information, and may stand alone as a sentence" (Nurse and Phillipson 2003: 8). Verbal forms can be quite complex in Bantu languages as they encompass many kinds of inflectional and derivational morphology. These verb forms, however, have a fairly fixed morphological template. The verb stem is formed by the verb root and the final vowel and a series of possible derivational extensions which can be inserted between the two, such as the passive, causative or applicative. The verb stem also combines with agreement markers which are controlled by the subject and object, and TAM markers, each of which has a fixed position within the verbal template. Other elements that are usually expressed by verbal morphology include negation and relativisation, as well as focus, and other pragmatic or discourse features (see Meeussen 1967 and Schadeberg 2003 for more detailed discussion and for historical reconstructions of the different morphemes). Example (13) from Swahili serves as a basis for discussion of several features of Bantu morphosyntax:

(13) *Mw-alimu a-ta-wa-som-esh-a wa-toto ki-arabu*
1-teacher SM1-FUT-OM2-learn-CAUS-FV 2-children 7-arabic

'The teacher will teach children Arabic.'

In example (13), the subject *mwalimu* 'teacher' determines the form of the corresponding noun class subject marker *a-* on the verb, while the indirect/primary object *watoto* 'children' is co-indexed on the verb by the corresponding noun class object marker *-wa-*. Between these agreement markers the morpheme *-ta-* expresses future tense. The verbal stem in this example is formed by the verbal root *-som-* 'learn', the derivational causative suffix *-esh-* and the final vowel *-a*.

Arguments of the verb have been studied especially in terms of the many productive valency-changing processes such as the causative in the example above, which increases the valency of the verb by adding an argument: the causer. Other processes include for example the applicative, reciprocal and passive. Nurse and Phillipson (2003), when discussing the fact that Bantu verbs can agree with up to three arguments, note: 'The third will be the beneficiary of an extended verb, or alternatively, a locative adjunct' (Nurse and Phillipson 2003 :9); something which will be relevant for our analyses of locatives (see Section 7.3.3).

Word order in simple declarative clauses in Bantu languages is basically SVO. This is better understood only as the 'default' or 'canonical' order, as in fact word order is usually determined by discourse. Nurse and Phillipson (2003) note that subject and object can be found in different positions due to pragmatic reasons, and as discussed in Section 3.5, Van der Wal (2009) proposes that for many Bantu languages, word order is configured by discourse.

To end this section on the general grammatical properties of Bantu languages, Bearth's (2003) quote on the character of Bantu syntax is presented. It expresses well the concept behind this study of the important link between morphological marking (such as OMs) and the surrounding context of the real outer world and the importance of extending our knowledge of this relationship.

> "The universal dichotomy between the inner and outer layers of the sentence – the former prototypically expressing entities participating in the

state-of-affairs expressed by the sentence, the latter locating the state-of-affairs in external circumstances – is never watertight. But the extent to which Bantu syntax, through its apparatus of verbal extensions, pronominal incorporation, and controlled positional shift, supports crisscrossing and especially the promotion of outer core elements to the inner core, is possibly unmatched in the world's languages (...)" (Bearth 2003: 9-10).

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, some important research done on objects and object marking in the context of morphosyntax has been presented. These studies show that there is great typological variation in these phenomena cross-linguistically as well as within the Bantu family. Moreover, links often emerged to other field of linguistics such as semantics, pragmatics or information structure, which interact with objects and object marking and often influence their (non-)occurrence. The following questions emerging from these observation will therefore be investigated:

- Considering the complexities of recognising objects defined in this chapter, what elements within the Makhuwa and Swaili texts behave as such?
- How do factors such as 'giveness' sometimes connected to object marking play a role in the object marking patterns of the analysed texts (relevant for Swahili)?
- Are there any patterns of reference to objects specific for double object constructions in Makhuwa and Swahili?
- Are locatives referred to in the same way as objects in the reference tracking paradigms of the two languages?
- How does transitivity affect discourse patterns in Makhuwa and Swahili (e.g. Referential Density values)?

This study will now build on these questions and observed patterns by adding a discourse angle to the study of objects and object marking, in order to widen our understanding of their use and occurrence. Thus the next chapter gives an overview of the discourse theories and methodologies considered when studying the data collected for this study.

Chapter 4

Discourse theoretical background

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discourse theories and literature used in this study for the analysis of the Makhuwa and Swahili texts, and also explains key notions and terminology which are relevant to this study. The Bantu research context is also presented and several case studies are included, showing ways in which discourse factors help to account for various grammatical phenomena. Bickel's (2003) study on the relationship between grammar and discourse in three Himalayan languages is described in greater detail, as some of the following analyses are based on his methodology and findings. In the last part of this chapter, the reader is taken through the discourse method and coding chosen to approach the texts collected for this study and the categories used are explained and defined.

Discourse, in the sense of text linguistics rather than the use of language in social interactions, is used as an additional viewpoint to examine object markers alongside the more frequently used approaches, which are mostly based on morphosyntax, semantics and information structure (discussed in Chapter 3).

Discourse analysis or text linguistics looks at the organisation of the text and at the relationship which holds between its various components. It looks at how information flows from one section to the other and how certain types of information are distributed (e.g. topics, comments, etc.) (Roberts 2009). This organisation is said to reflect the

mental representation of the content of discourse (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001). This chapter will therefore look at the linguistic properties of certain elements of the text, their function in discourse and also the link to the cognitive states in the speaker's and interlocutor's minds.

4.2 Text structure

Some of the formal prosodic parameters used to identify the structure of the texts in the following analysis are summarised in Chapter 2. In this section they are further complemented by grammatical and conceptual evidence, along with the terminology used in discourse theories.

4.2.1 Coherence and cohesion

Before considering the internal structure of a text, it is important to discuss the discourse notion of 'text' in and of itself. A condition for the existence of a text, which can be both a chunk of written or spoken language, is its coherence. This means that smaller units of text (sentences, paragraphs, etc.) are conceptually linked to each other in some way. Coherence is therefore the system by which the reader or hearer constructs a mental representation of the whole text from these smaller units (Dooley 2007). Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) then accordingly describe a second important notion - cohesion - as "the use of linguistic means to signal coherence" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 27). So, if coherence is the supposed relationship the units of text have to each other, cohesion, on the other hand, is a property of the text. More specifically, it refers to the explicit ways in which certain elements in the text link up to other parts to make up a coherent entity (Roberts 2009).

Depending on the language, cohesive devices can include for example conjunctions that link sentences together or morphosyntactic patterns such as the use of a specific tense or aspect. The most relevant for our discussion, however, are the cohesive devices in the category of 'identity': "... those which link to identical forms, identical meaning,

or identical reference or denotation" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 29). Cohesive devices of identity are commonly subdivided into three groups (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, Roberts 2009). Firstly, we find lexical repetition/replacement, which includes the repetition of a lexical expression or a part of it as well as the replacement of a lexical item by a different form of the same referent (1).

(1) Ro's daughter is ill again. The child is hardly ever well.

(Roberts 2009: 57)

The second group is formed by pronominal reference. This includes also other pro-forms such as pro-verbs (English 'do') and pro-adverbs (English 'here', 'there', 'then', etc.). A pronoun can be used 'exophorically' when it refers to something in the real 'outside' world (also called deictic). This however does not refer to anything in the previous text and is not therefore considered a cohesive device. In an endophoric use, on the other hand, the pronoun denotes a referent within the text and in this way links two components of the text together, adding to its cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976). It is in this group that the use of object markers comes into play, as their endophoric use has been discussed for Bantu languages where OMs have sometimes been analysed as pronominal (see Section 3.3.2). This endophoric function of OMs can be seen in examples such as (2) from Swahili, in which the referent of the NP *yule mtu* 'that man' is referred to using a full NP in the first clause, but only by the object marker *-m-* on the verb in the second clause:

(2) a. *Y-ule m-tu a-li-kataa ku-funuliwa.*
DEMIII 1-man SM1-PST-refuse INF-uncovered
'That man refused to show his face.'

b. *Albert a-li-m-sikia a-ki-lia.*
1.Albert SM1-PST-OM1-hear SM1-SIT-cry
'Albert heard him crying.'

(Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997: 375)

The object marker on the verb -sikia 'hear' refers back to 'that man' mentioned in the

previous sentence and creates a cohesive link between the two sentences. This distiction between endophoric and exophoric reference has been challanged by Brown & Yule (1983). They argue that when a subsequent mention to a referent is made, the hearer will relate it back to his/her mental representation of that referent rather than to the original expression of it in the text. It thus becomes more difficult to make a clear distinction between the endophoric and exophoric use of anaphoric devices such as OMs in such cases (Brown and Yule 1983).

The third group of cohesive devices includes instances where some material is left out and can be identified based on previous discourse, also known as zero-anaphora (Ariel 1994) or ellipsis (Halliday & Hasan 1976, Roberts 2009). This will be discussed for Makhuwa and Swahili, as object ellipsis can also occur in Bantu languages.

(3) a. *Na-mu-shit-a inyunshi?*
TNS-SM2PL-buy-FV 9.newspaper
'Have you brought a newspaper?'

b. *Ee ni-n-shit-a. Ni-n-sh-a pa-tebulo.*
Yes TNS-SM1SG-buy-FV TNS-SM1SG-put-FV 16-table
'Yes, I brought (one/it). I have left (it) on the table.'

(Marten 2013: 13)

In this Bemba question-answer sequence, the object of interest is the referent 'newspaper'. While expressed by an NP in (3a), it is subsequently omitted in the following sentences (including any object co-indexes), and is instead only retrievable from context.

Another type of cohesive device which links lexical items to each other is lexical relations. Roberts (2009) explains how the use of lexical relations such as hyponymy, part-whole, collocations, synonyms and so on forms a continuum of lexical cohesion. This is thus important for our analysis of the way in which elements are referred to in the Makhuwa and Swahili texts, as a lexical item can relate back to previously mentioned referents by means of one of the lexical relations, as in the English example in (4). In this case, the lexical relation is an example of a part-whole relationship.

(4) The human body is an intricate mechanism. The arm, for example, is used for different kinds of leverage.

(Roberts 2009: 59)

If the second sentence is taken in isolation, the lexical item 'the arm' might seem as a full lexical noun mentioned for the first time and not linked to anything else. However, when looking at the surrounding discourse, it is possible to see that the previous sentence contains the NP 'the human body'. As 'the arm' is intrinsically part of 'the human body' the subsequent mention of these two nouns ties the sentences together in a coherent way.

4.2.2 Paragraphs

Each text has its own internal structure which can be recognized in a number of ways such as phonological evidence (discussed in Chapter 2) and grammatical patterns like coding of referents (discussed in Section 4.3.1). A basic subconstituent of such a structure that can be identified in this way is a paragraph. Conceptually, this is a smaller 'thematic' unit within a coherent text "that maintains a uniform orientation" (Hinds 1979: 136). Four criteria are commonly considered when defining a coherent unit: unity of time, unity of place, unity of action and unity of participants (Givón 1983, Chafe 1994, Roberts 2009). When these factors are consistent across sentences, this is more likely to make up a thematic unit. On the other hand, when there is continuity only in one or more of these dimensions, this is more likely to be a boundary between units (Roberts 2009).

McGill (2009) discusses further conceptual evidence for the existence of paragraphs, including linguistic experiments involving recalling of information by the hearer which decreases after paragraph boundaries (Gernsbacher 1985) and Lehiste's (1979) experiments on conscious perception of paragraph boundaries (see McGill 2009: 98 for further discussion).

One way in which the internal organisation of a text manifests itself is the pro-

gression of reference expressions within paragraphs. McGill (2009) explains how the internal structure of a text is apparent from the grammatical coding of participants and the use of certain lexical items at paragraph boundaries, as the dimensions of time, place, action and participants are often renewed at the start of a new paragraph. This can result for example in the use of phrases such as "The following day..." at the beginning of the paragraph (McGill 2009: 98) to establish a new time dimension, but it can also result in a change in the grammatical coding of participants, more relevant for this study. Roberts (2009) for example notes that a participant referred to by a full noun phrase is sometimes a signal of a new thematic unit. Of course, this changes from language to language as it depends on what expressions are available in the grammar of the specific language to refer to participants (see Section 4.3.1 on participant tracking). Cross-linguistically, however, a general pattern has been noticed (Givón 1983, Ariel 1999, McGill 2009 amongst others) where the phonological weight of the expression used to denote a participant decreases the further along within the paragraph it occurs. Therefore a full NP is more likely found at the beginning of a paragraph while for a referring expression to be left out completely (i.e. having zero phonological weight), it is more likely to be found at the end of a thematic unit. Givón (1983) expresses this in terms of the accessibility of a referent (in Table 4.1 referred to as 'topic'); or as Dooley (2007) explains: "coding weight increases as accessibility decreases" (2007: 53). 'Accessibility' here refers to how easily the referent is accessible in the hearer's mind. For example, a referent that has just been mentioned in the previous clause is far more easily accessible than one which is mentioned for the first time (therefore the interlocutor had no accessible concept of it ready in her mind). Other factors can affect the accessibility of a referent such as specificity and referentiality based on shared world knowledge.

The coding progressions within paragraphs noted in various languages (see McGill 2009 for examples) can be seen as grammatical evidence for the existence of paragraphs. The accessibility of referents on which they are based is a complex system which has been expanded in theories on the cognitive status of participants in a text

more accessible topics [light]	↑	zero anaphora
		unstressed/bound pronouns ('agreement')
		stressed/independent pronouns
less accessible topics [heavy]	↓	full NPs

Table 4.1: Givón's (1983) phonological coding weight scale

(Chafe 1994, Dooley and Levinsohn 2001, Ariel 2004). These are explained in Section 4.3.3.

4.3 Discourse referents/participants

Different entities in discourse can be regarded as 'referents'; individuals, places and even whole propositions can function as referents, as these can all be referred back to by anaphoric expressions Götze et al. (2007). They are often also referred to as 'participants' (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000, Clark 2012), and these two terms will be used interchangeably in this thesis.

> "There are two reasons why we need to know how participants and other entities are referred to throughout a discourse. First of all, a hearer (or analyst) needs to be able to understand who is doing what to whom. Secondly, a producer of discourse needs to be able to make the same kind information clear to the hearers or readers. The task is not a simple one, since languages have different patterns of reference" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 56).

The discourse analysis of the Makhuwa and Swahili texts therefore considers the use of OMs as part of a more complex system used to track participants in a text. Aside from identifying participants in a text in an unambiguous and comprehensible manner, the patterns of reference also signal the activation status and prominence of each participant, and additionally they handle disruptions in the flow of information (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 56). The following sections will explore each of these functions.

4.3.1 Participant tracking

In Section 4.2.2, some expressions have already been listed which can be used to refer to discourse participants. As explained by Givón's continuum (1983), it is common in languages to use lexical NPs to introduce new referents into a text or re-introduce them in a new thematic unit. Forms with 'less coding material' such as pronouns, agreement markers or zero anaphora, on the other hand, usually denote a participant who has already been established in the text (Clark 2012). (Payne 1997: 345) offers a good basic overview of the variety of coding strategies which can be used when referring back to referents throughout a text.

1.	anaphoric zeros
2.	verb coding (or anaphoric/grammatical agreement)
3.	unstressed (clitic) pronouns
4.	stressed (independent) pronouns
5.	demonstrative pronouns
6.	full noun phrases
7.	specified noun phrases
8.	modified noun phrases
9.	special constituent orders, e.g. fronting
10.	"voice" alternations, e.g. active, passive, antipassive, and inverse
11.	"switch-reference" system

Table 4.2: Structures likely to function in 'topic (referential) continuity' (Payne 1997)

Table 4.2 expands on the simplified scale presented for Givón's (1983) hypothesis on the phonological weight of referring expressions (Table 4.1). Here, Payne's structures are also ordered from strategies used for most accessible to least accessible (new) referents. Payne adheres to the label 'topic continuity' (similarly to Givón 1983), referring to the idea of discourse topicality explained in Section 4.3.2.[1] The expansion in the list includes a more fine-grained distinction between certain categories. For example, depending on the specific language, for noun phrases the split can be between specified

[1]For a list of terminology used to express this concept, see Clark (2012).

and unspecified. As Clark (2012) notes, a language where a noun phrase can be marked as indefinite will use this type of expression more often when introducing a participant for the first time compared with its definite counterpart. Payne also includes syntactic structures such as voice alternation or switch reference, as these can interact with the degree of topicality given to a certain referent at a certain point in the text.

4.3.1.1 Anaphora

If we are studying the way a participant is tracked through discourse, we are essentially looking at the anaphoric links between the expressions used to refer to it. Anaphora "(...) is commonly used to refer to a relation between two linguistic elements, wherein the interpretation of one (the ANAPHOR) is in some way determined by the interpretation of the other (its ANTECEDENT)" (Huang 2000: 1). Although anaphora is often understood in linguistics to denote anaphoric relations within the clause (e.g. reflexive pronouns in English), Huang (2000) claims that a mixture of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and discourse is needed to be able to analyse anaphoric relations.

Brown and Yule (1983, see also Corbett 1991) propose that an anaphoric expression found even at a substantial distance from its antecedent, depending on the grammar of the language in question, will typically agree in at least certain categories with its antecedent. In Bantu languages, this is manifested by anaphoric expressions agreeing in noun class with their antecedents. But McGill (2009) notes that this does not always hold true if the gap between the anaphora and the antecedent is significantly extended.

> "... it does not necessarily follow that controllers can therefore operate at unlimited distances. The further the distance between the target and its antecedent, the harder it is to maintain that the form of the target is controlled solely by formal properties of the antecedent word. Instead it becomes difficult to distinguish between the influence of the controlling word, and the influence of the referent itself – in other words, there comes a point where anaphoric reference blurs into deictic reference"(McGill 2009:65).

4.3.1.2 Ellipsis

When surveying cohesive devices, it has been observed that the presence of anaphoric expressions across sentences as well as their omission can link parts of text together and track a participant throughout (Roberts 2009). Fillmore (1986), when talking about missing complements of a predicate, makes a useful distinction between indefinite null complements (INC) and definite null complements (DNC). With DNC the missing element must be retrieved from something given in the context, while with INC the referent's identity is unknown or a matter of indifference. For the study of object marking as a participant tracking strategy, the DCN type is especially relevant. Fillmore (1986) characterises them as follows:

> "(...) those with the potential of having a contextually definite interpretation, cases where the speaker's authority to omit a complement exists only within an ongoing discourse in which the missing information can be immediately retrieved from the context, and on condition that the omission is authorized by a particular lexical item or grammatical construction in the language" (Fillmore 1986:97).

This is governed by very language specific rules, the indefinite and definite omissible elements a verb has, and whether they can be omitted or not follows from the lexical nature of the predicate. According to Fillmore (1986), for example, for the English verb contribute the 'gift-type' element is an INC, while the 'receiver-like' element is a DNC.

4.3.2 Discourse topicality

The term topicality is usually understood to apply within the context of a sentence and is considered one of the main notions of information structure. Often in opposition to 'focus', topic is defined as "the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence IS ABOUT" (Lambrecht 1994: 118). For the Makhuwa and Swahili texts, relevant linguistic elements were studied as part of their whole surrounding text and therefore,

topicality is considered here as a notion of discourse instead. McGill (2009) clearly outlines the difference between sentence topic (in the sense of Lambrecht 1994) and discourse topic (in the sense of Dooley 2007), explaining their different scopes. A referent is a sentence topic when the proposition expressed by a clause is about it. A discourse topic, on the other hand, has a special importance over a whole discourse unit, such as a paragraph (McGill 2009: 95). The idea of topicality going beyond the sentence has been expressed in various ways. Givón (1983) expresses this in his scale of coding expressions which are used according to the accessibility or topicality of the referent. He considers 'topicality' mostly in terms of the moment in discourse in which a certain referring expression is used in relation to its last mention, the text structure and its units and other occurring topics. Others (e.g. Tomlin 1997, Dooley 2007) view a discourse topic as an even more overarching concept tied to thematic factors.

> "...if the entity continues to be referred to throughout a sizeable section of a discourse...concepts..., including new ones as they are added, tend to be viewed in relation to the referential entity. In this way the growing dominion[2] comes to be integrated by the referential entity: its component elements are viewed in relation to that entity" Dooley (2007:71).

There are therefore differences between sentence topic and discourse topic but also between the various understandings of discourse topicality per se. Whilst Givón (1983) takes into account mostly the position and number of appearances of referring expressions,[3] Dooley (2007) brings into the definition also the mental representation a hearer constructs from the text.

> "If a discourse unit is construed in such a way that its [discourse] space is thematically integrated around a referent – that is, if the relevance of each of the steps in its schema is perceived as depending on its relation to that referent and if that relation manifests as well an intrinsic interest in that

[2] "[C]onceptual region (or the set of entities) to which [a particular referential entity] affords direct access" (Langacker 2000: 173-4 in McGill 2009: 94)

[3] Givón does also consider factors such as semantic and thematic information but regards them as difficult to measure (McGill 2009).

> referent on the part of the speaker – then the referent is called the TOPIC of the discourse unit" (Dooley 2007:71).

This is also confirmed by McGill in his study of Cicipu, where discourse topicality was established as a factor strongly influencing the agreement system.

> "...it must be recognised that discourse topicality involves more than just referential density and semantic integration. The speaker must also have an intrinsic interest in the topic referent" (McGill 2009:96).

This definition of topicality is highly relevant for the analysis of Makhuwa and Swahili data, as linguists have observed ways in which it affects the coding of participants in a very similar way. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) labelled the special coding of a topical referent 'the V.I.P. (very important participant) strategy' which they found for example in the Brazilian Arawa languages. McGill (2009) presents two further examples of when discourse topicality is vital to understanding the coding strategies of the language. Firstly, the Bantoid language Mambila (Perrin 1978) where a main participant is expressed mostly by minimal coding material with almost no NP repetitions, while less central participants are identified by a whole NP over and over again. The second example is from McGill's own research on the Cicipu agreement system where "... progression from gender to person marking can be viewed as a signal of discourse topicality" (McGill 2009: 97). This view of topicality can therefore help analyse certain patterns of unexpected 'overcoding', or conversely, some seemingly random minimal coding of participants found both in the Makhuwa and the Swahili texts.

Subsequent importance Another aspect of the 'importance' of a participant - which has been noted to be marked in discourse - is the subsequent relevance of a referent after their first introduction (Hopper & Thompson 1984). In some studies, such as Givón (1983) who refers to this factor as 'persistence', this kind of importance of a participant following their introduction is quantified by counting the number of subsequent clauses in which the participant is mentioned. McGill (2009) discussed the example of Hausa where Jaggar (1983, 1988) found a correlation between the marking of NPs

with the specific indefinite determiner and their likelihood to be mentioned in the following discourse (see McGill 2009: 370 for more details). Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011) present examples from Persian and Mongolian where a marker of topicality can be found with an indefinite object noun providing that that object is mentioned in the subsequent discourse such as the following coordinated clause (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011).

(5) a. *man ketâb-i / *ketâb-i-râ xarid-am*
I book-INDF / book-INDF-RA buy.PST-1SG
'I bought a book.'

b. *man ketâb-i / ketâb-i-râ xarid-am va*
I book-INDF / book-INDF-RA buy.PST-1SG and ...
'I bought a book and ...'

(Dabir-Moghaddam 1992: 557 in Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 112)

In this example, the *ra* marker, which has been analysed to mark topicality in Persian, is ungrammatical when attached to an indefinite noun (5a). This however changes under certain conditioning. In (5b) the marker is grammatical providing the sentence continues with something like '... sent it to my brother' (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011: 112). Similar examples from Mongolian show the relevance of subsequent mention in discourse on the marking of topicality.

4.3.3 Activation status of participants

As the different coding strategies used to refer to participants can depend on the cognitive state of the referents in the speaker/hearer's mental representation, this section will present an overview of activation status concepts and terminology (based on Chafe 1994, Lambrecht 1994, Dooley and Levinsohn 2001 and Roberts 2009).

The three basic activation states used in this schema are: active, accessible and inactive. A concept is active when it is 'lit up' in a person's consciousness at a particular moment (Givón 1983). An accessible concept is in a person's peripheral consciousness, not as focused on as an active one. This can happen when a concept has been active at an earlier stage in the discourse, when it is associated with a certain topic

and therefore belongs to the set of expectations or, lastly, when a concept is accessible due to its presence in the real world. Finally, a concept is inactive when it is not in a person's consciousness, even peripherally.

The way concepts go from being in one activation state to another can be described in terms of three processes: activation, deactivation and maintenance. Activation means that a concept becomes active. If the concept was inactive until that point, then activation in fact means introducing some new information. This therefore requires a substantial cognitive effort and thus results in heavy phonological coding. If, on the other hand, a concept is accessible at the point at which it is introduced, the effort is not as great and heavy coding is generally not required. Deactivation is simply allowing a concept to shift from the active state into being only accessible by by not continuing to refer to it. Lastly, maintenance is the process by which a concept is kept active. As this is not a substantial shift in state, this process often requires only minimal coding such as pronominalisation or ellipsis. The coding used for the referents however has to be considered in regards to paragraph boundaries too, as activation status can be reset at the start of a new paragraph (McGill 2009).

Having surveyed the discourse theoretical background on which this study is based, Section 4.4 will discuss examples of ways in which discourse has been used to understand grammatical phenomena across languages.

4.4 Application of discourse factors

This section adds a few more examples of the effects discourse has on grammar to complement the cases already presented in the preceding discussion on the theoretical background relevant to this study. Special attention is dedicated to examples from Bantu languages, connections between object marking and discourse and lastly Bickel's (2003) study of referential density.

4.4.1 Bantu context

The field of discourse has not been studied in great depth so far for Bantu languages. Many studies have, however, formulated theories about specific Bantu languages displaying 'discourse-configurationality' in their morphosyntax (Morimoto 2000, Costa & Kula 2008, Van der Wal 2009, Nicolle 2012 amongst others). This means that word order (which can at first appear free) is regulated by discourse factors.

> "A language is discourse-configurational if (in intuitive terms): A. The (discourse-)semantic function 'topic', serving to foreground a specific individual that something will be predicated about (not necessarily identical with the grammatical subject), is expressed through a particular structural relation (in other words, it is associated with a particular structural position).or B. The (discourse-) semantic function 'focus', expressing identification, is realised through a particular structural relation (that is, by movement into a particular structural position)" (Kiss 1995: 6).

Based on this, Van der Wal (2009) argues that Bantu languages have elements of a discourse-configurational language, but differ from fully pragmatically derived languages. In her opinion, a wide typological range of languages exists "(...) reaching from a high influence of discourse on one end of the continuum to a high influence of syntax on the other" (Van der Wal 2009: 139). Bantu languages tend to have a canonical word order, namely SVO, and therefore differ from highly discourse-based languages on the continuum.

Among recent studies which examine discourse features of a language and their influence on grammar is Rundel's (2012) comparison of three Bantu languages of the Mara region in Tanzania. Through studying the discourse features of texts in Ngoreme, Ikizu and Kabwa languages, Rundel (2012) identifies the way these features link to the distribution of grammatical elements such as TAM markers. Similarly to the present study, Rundel also explores the participant referencing system and the connected distribution of reference expressions such as distal demonstratives, used to re-activate participants mentioned further back in the discourse.

Although the body of work on discourse among Bantu languages is still fairly small (cf. Bresnan 1993, Nicolle 2012 amongst others), studies such as the ones presented above stress the importance of further research in this area, in order to fully understand grammatical structures such as TAM markers, anaphoric expressions such as demonstratives, or object marking, which is discussed in the following section.

4.4.1.1 Object marking and discourse

von Heusinger & Chiriacescu (2013) found a direct link between object marking and discourse in Romanian, exemplifying the way in which discourse can explain the distribution of morphosyntactic patterns. In their study, they investigated the differential object marking system of Romanian, involving specifically the use of the element pe in marking postverbal human direct objects.

(6) a. *Toţi bărbaţii-o iubesc pe o femeie.*
all men-CL love PE a woman
'All men love a woman.' (specific/wide scope)

b. *Toţi bărbaţii iubesc o femeie.*
all men love a woman
'All men love a woman.' (specific/wide vs. non-specific/narrow scope)

(von Heusinger & Chiriacescu 2013: 440)

Example (6) shows the a contrast of specificity linked to the use of the *pe* marker. When the indefinite direct object *femeie* 'woman' is *pe*-marked in (6a) only a (scopally) specific interpretation in possible (there is one woman such that all men love her). On the other hand, when this same object occurs without the *pe* marker, both a specific or a non-specific reading are possible. However, aside from links to semantic and pragmatic features such as specificity and referentiality, this marker was found to signal Discourse Structuring Potential (DSP) (von Heusinger & Chiriacescu 2013: 447). According to the authors, this concept encompasses a higher topic shift potential and higher likelihood of subsequent mention (in the sense of Givón 1983). Romanian therefore constitutes another example of the effects of the subsequent importance phenomenon discussed in Section 4.3.2.

The connection of object marking to discourse strategies in Bantu languages has been noted, although it remains understudied (but cf. Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997 discussed in Chapter 4). Bearth (2003) states that OMs can represent the missing object retrievable from context, and Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) note the use of OM to maintain topics throughout discourse. Regarding Bresnan and Mchombo's (1987) claim that object marking is used as anaphora for topic, McGill (2009: 83) notes that "This association has often been repeated but is rarely questioned" (cf. also Downing 2014).

4.4.2 Referential density (Bickel 2003)

In the following section I will present a summary of Bickel's (2003) paper 'Referential Density in Discourse and Syntactic Typology' and show its relevance for the present study. Bickel's investigation of three languages of the Himalayas explores the relationship between discourse (more precisely referential density) and syntactic typology; therefore testing how one affects the other. Even though the three languages considered – Maithili, Belhare and Nepali – are typologically very different from Swahili and Makhuwa, Bickel raises many issues more generally applicable to similar investigations. Moreover, his methodology serves as a useful starting point for the study of the Bantu situation.

Bickel defines Referential Density (RD) as the ratio of overt to possible argument NPs. This value is therefore calculated by identifying all available argument positions in the clause and comparing them with the amount of overt NPs found; in this study this means both nouns and pronouns, but not for example subject and object markers (as explained in the next section). There is considerable variation in the RD ratio across languages, and the question therefore arises of what this variation depends on. An instance of a very low RD value would be a sample of language with high occurrence of zero anaphora and frequent dropping of arguments. It is exactly the relationship between these structural characteristics and discourse that Bickel aims to explore. It is for this reason that Bickel's study is especially relevant here, as this thesis considers

some structural differences between Swahili and Makhuwa and explores their effects on discourse.

However, an issue needs to be raised right at the start which is important for drawing a parallel between Bickel's study and the Bantu case, namely agreement markers. Bickel notes for Maithili and Belhare that they have a rich grammatical agreement paradigm both for subject and object. However, Bickel also explains that agreement markers do not contribute to the RD value as agreement is always obligatory. As a consequence, he says, including agreement markers would simply increase referential density values by 1 for each agreement marker per clause, and those markers are therefore not considered. The situation is far more complex in the case of Bantu languages. The ongoing discussion on whether markers referring to subject and object arguments are agreement-type in their nature or pronominal (see Section 3.3.2) means that agreement markers cannot be discarded when looking at discourse in Bantu languages. Furthermore, it is exactly the availability of some of these markers for discourse purposes which is being questioned in the present study. This aspect of the methodology will therefore have to be adapted to reflect these issues.

To study the phenomenon of referential density, Bickel recorded new data in all three languages. For the recorded data to be comparable, he chose to use controlled stimulus, namely the Pear Story video (Chafe 1980). He showed this video to native speakers who would then retell the story in his/her own words to another native speaker. This is the method followed also for this study, which thus resulted in a number of comparable texts.

When comparing texts in Belhare and Maithili, Bickel noticed that speakers of the first language would leave referents in the story mostly implied, and listeners would then identify them by drawing on the semantics of verbs and by inferring from world knowledge. In Maithili on the other hand, overt NPs enable easy referent identification starting with lexical items and continuing with pronouns. If we now think of the Bantu languages in question, where subject and object markers are tools which can potentially be used to identify referents, these markers could be a natural continuation of this

chain.

In discussing the different discourse strategies of the languages of the Himalayas, Bickel also adopts McLuhan's (1964) discussion on 'cool' and 'hot' media within linguistics. "Media are relatively cool in McLuhan's terms if they require more active involvement of the recipient because the information given is relatively terse (as e.g. in a written text). Media are relatively 'hot' if they require less active recipient involvement because information density is higher (as e.g. in a movie)" (Bickel 2003: 710). Bickel then applies this metaphor by describing Belhare as 'cool' and Maithili as 'hot'.

The idea is raised that the differences in referential density between Belhare, Maithili and Nepali could be accounted for by the degree to which morphosyntactic features of NPs are relevant for syntactic processing. In his study, Bickel looks specifically at case features and introduces the notion of case-sensitive vs. case-insensitive 'privileged syntactic argument' (PSA).

> "There is a systematic typological difference between languages with case-sensitive PSAs (exemplified by Nepali and Maithili) and languages with case-insensitive PSAs (exemplified by Belhare). Case-sensitive PSAs make crucial reference to information contained in syntactic valence frames, whereas case-insensitive PSAs refer directly to semantic argument structure and to prominence hierarchies defined there" (Bickel 2003: 717).

Therefore in the first case of Nepali and Maithili, only the argument in a specific case triggers a certain type of agreement and is accessible to phenomena such as control and raising structures. However, in the second type (here represented by Belhare) these are all characteristics of the higher semantic role; agent or experiencer. Bickel's hypothesis is therefore: 'Other things being equal, the more a language has constructions that are subject to case-sensitive PSAs, the higher the degree of referential density in discourse' (Bickel 2003: 718).

For his methodology, Bickel considers the difficulties of comparing the RD of different languages in relation to their dissimilar structural properties. In order to test such a hypothesis (as formulated above) it is desirable to have a sample of languages that

are very close to each other typologically, and whose speakers share as much of their social and cultural background as possible. Bickel notes that for the three Himalayan languages there are 'no apparent systematic differences in conversational and narrative conventions among the three communities, and the people usually draw from the same stock of traditional folklore' (Bickel 2003: 718). This is an aspect of the present study which was considered also for Swahili and Makhuwa.

The data in Bickel's study was analysed by splitting the narratives into clause units, each with a lexical predicate and its arguments. For each narrative, a calculation was made of how many arguments were possible in each predicate and how many of these were filled by lexical nouns or pronouns.

In exploring the issue of telling apart arguments from non-arguments Bickel raises the issue of locatives. He explains, for example, that verbs of goal-directed motion were treated in all three languages as including a locative-marked goal argument in their valence.

(7) *pheri ne-e* *leŋs-e.*
again here-LOC put-PST
'[He] again put [the fruit] here.' (Bickel 2003: 725)

In the Belhare example ex.x, the verb *leŋma* 'put' was considered by Bickel as having three possible arguments: an agent, a theme, and a location as in 'moving something somewhere'. In this particular example, the subject 'he' and the object 'fruit' are both implied but not expressed by a lexical noun or pronoun, while the goal argument ne 'here' is overtly expressed. This is again a relevant point for the study of Swahili and Makhuwa, as locatives in Bantu languages are a complex issue both in terms of their status as (non)arguments as well as for their object marking paradigm (as discussed in Section 3.4.2).

Further on, Bickel considers ways in which the three Himalayan languages vary and that could therefore be seen as contributing to the different RD values. One of the variables he discusses is the degree to which the verb agreement morphology of a language is elaborated.

> "Assuming (wrongly, I believe) that NP use and agreement markers fulfill equivalent functions for identifying referents in discourse, one might expect that the richer agreement morphology is, the lower RD values would be" (Bickel 2003: 729).

Even though it is highly debated (as discussed in chapter 3) whether object markers fulfill a pronominal function or are viewed as agreement, this is an important point for our study and will be taken up in Chapter 7, where the RD of Makhuwa and Swahili is calculated.

In the last part of his study, Bickel presents his explanation for the correlation between the studied syntactic characteristics and RD values obtained for the three languages (presented in Table 4.3).

Language	RD
Belhare	0.41
Nepali	0.47
Maithili	0.62

Table 4.3: RD values for Himalayan languages (Bickel 2003: 727)

In his analysis, the variation between the RD values of the three languages can be explained by 'syntactic priming' (Bickel 2003: 732), which falls under the more general concept of 'alignment' (discussed in Howes et al. 2010 amongst others). This is a phenomenon whereby the processing of a particular structure facilitates processing of a subsequent utterance with the same or a similar structure (Pickering & Branigan 1999). In the case of RD this would mean the following:

> 'The more constructions with case-sensitive PSAs there are in the language, the more often the associated procedures would be processed, and the more frequent their priming effects on generating NPs would be. Generating clauses with overt NPs would in turn prime further clauses with overt NPs, ratcheting up the effect well beyond that of the original trigger (i.e. PSA processing). With this ratcheting effect, frequent NP use

> would over time entrench itself as a habitual way of speaking and establish higher RD values throughout a language community (at least in the narrative genre studied here)' (Bickel 2003: 732).

Bickel recognizes that the results of this study cannot be a valid generalisation beyond the languages concerned. However, he argues that this study can at least exclude certain typological factors as plausible causes for the studied phenomenon (difference in RD). Among those Bickel includes richness of agreement morphology as mentioned previously. Therefore, the outcome of a similar study on Swahili and Makhuwa, where the object agreement paradigm complexity is one of the structural differences, could confirm this (if there is no significant difference in RD) or point to a correlation between Bantu object marking and identifying referents in discourse.

Bickel concludes by stressing the importance of such studies and indicates that referential density could in addition reveal important underlying cognitive strategies.

> "When reporting an event, speakers must somehow balance their attention between the internal structure of the event (e.g. the particular kind of activity performed) and the participants involved in this event. If referential density is low, this suggests that speakers pay relatively more attention to the event than to the participants; if referential density is high, speakers appear to focus more on the participants" (Bickel 2003: 733).

As a consequence, considering Swahili and Makhuwa in this light is interesting not only from a comparative Bantu perspective, but also in terms of the contribution to finding cross-linguistic patterns related to RD values of languages. The results of such an examination of Makhuwa and Swahili, together with the way in which Bickel's (2003) methodology was adapted to a Bantu context, are presented in Chapter 5.

4.5 Discourse analysis coding method

This final section of the chapter presents the annotation terminology used to code texts in this study. More specifically, it shows all the parameters for which the participants

in the texts were coded and explains the labels of the categories based on the theories and literature discussed so far. Generally, only participants expressed as subjects and object were coded, although other referents were included where relevant. Not all the texts were annotated to the same degree of detail, therefore not all the parameters will be mentioned with each example presented.

4.5.1 Inherent properties

Before coding each participant for their discourse features, a number of basic categories are assigned which are relevant for the analysis. These inherent properties (in the sense that they were not assigned based on my analysis but rather inherent to the participant) include animacy, noun class membership and linguistic form of the referring expression used to denote the participant (e.g. subject marker (SM), object marker (OM), noun phrase + demonstrative (NP+DEM), etc.). Animacy was more relevant for Swahili and less so for Makhuwa, where belonging to classes 1 and 2 is the relevant factor for object marking instead (see discussion in Chapter 5), but the same coding was mantained for both languages for the sake of consistency.

Furthermore, within a single text each participant is assigned a number, that is subsequently noted by each referring expression to follow the tracking patterns of that participant (this method is based on Levinsohn 1999, as discussed in Clark 2012). Next, each instance of reference to a participant was annotated with the discourse features of activation status and context, as explained below.

4.5.2 Activation status of referents

Although keeping Chafe's (1994) framework as a basis for our analysis, in annotating the data this study roughly follows the terminology and guidelines proposed by Götze et al. (2007) to make the results as cross-linguistically comparable as possible. Before moving on to the specific terminology that will be used for this study, the table below (from Payne 1997) demonstrates the variation of terms used for the status of referents in discourse.

Initial appearance	Subsequent appearance
coming onto stage	already on stage
new	given (Halliday 1967)
switch	continuing
previously inactivated	activated (Chafe 1987)
discontinuous	continuous (Givón 1983)

Table 4.4: Terminology for referential systems description (Payne 1997: 346)

In the following section, the way referents in texts get coded for their discourse status (also referred to as information status by Götze et al. 2007) is presented. This coding indicates the degree of accessibility of their antecedent, i.e. how easily retrievable from previous discourse they are.

> "A referent mentioned in the last sentence is easily accessible or 'given', whereas one that has to be inferred from world knowledge is only 'accessible' to the degree that the inference relation is shared between speaker and hearer. A discourse referent which lacks an antecedent in the previous discourse, isn't part of the discourse situation, nor is accessible via some relational reasoning has to be assumed to be 'new'" (Götze et al 2007: 150).

As a result, a referent is coded as 'given' if its antecedent if explicitly mentioned in previous discourse. This can often mean the expression has been mentioned within the last five sentences, but sometimes the antecedent can be found even further back in past discourse, across discourse paragraphs. For this reason two types can be differentiated; 'active' and 'inactive'. An active given referent (giv-active) was mentioned within the last or in the current sentence. In contrast, an inactive given one (giv-inactive) was referred to at some point before the last sentence. In the present study 'sentences' in relevance to discourse are assumed to correspond to intonational sentences; ISs are therefore the unit used for this measurement.

An 'accessible' referent was not mentioned in the preceding discourse but is still

accessible to the hearer due to a relation to another named referent, due to the situative context, or due to assumed common world knowledge. Based on this we can differentiate four types; situative, aggregation, inferrable and general. Accessible situative (acc-sit) means that the referent is part of the discourse situation. Accessible by aggregation (acc-aggr) signifies that the referring expression denotes a group consisting of referents accessible or given in previous discourse. The accessible inferrable (acc-inf) label signifies that the referent is part of another type of relation to other referents in discourse. One type of these relations is the 'part-whole'; the referent is in a part-whole relation to another given or accessible referent (see example (4) in Section 4.2.1). The referent can also be part of a set relation (i.e. subset, superset, member-of-the-same-set) to a referent in the preceding discourse or, finally, the referent can relate to an attribute of a given or accessible referent in the discourse. The last type of referring expressions is accessible based on general world knowledge (acc-gen). We talk of 'types' when the referent of the expression is a set or kind of objects and 'tokens' when the referent of the expression is a unique object which is assumed to be part of world knowledge. The term 'new' is reserved for referents in the text which are completely new to the hearer in a given discourse.

4.5.3 Context

The concept of including coding of 'contexts' in the analysis of a participant tracking system was first put forward by Levinsohn (2000) who identified it as one of the eight steps in his methodology. In his methodology, this step focuses on the subject and non-subject positions to see the continuation of participant reference in relation to those. In the present study, I have taken Clark's (2012) adapted version of this strategy, who has refined it for his study of referents tracking in Rio. As an illustration of the original context paradigm, Table 4.5[4] shows the context categories for subject referents.

I have also futher adapted this methodology to suit the analysis of Makhuwa and Swahili texs and the resulting categories of context are described below. However, this

[4]The S1A category is an example of the changes made by Clark (2012) as it was not present in the original division by Levinsohn (2000).

S1	The subject was the same as in the previous clause.
S1A	The subject was the same as the subject two or three clauses earlier, with no potentially confusing referent being mentioned since that occurrence.
S2	The subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence.
S3	The subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than S2.
S4	Other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.

Table 4.5: (Clark 2012: 78)

strategy was used only for the part of the analysis focused on object marking and other ways to denote objects and as a consequence, only participants in object position were coded for this feature. Hence, the letter O (for objects) was used instead of the original S (subjects) and N (non-subject). The second context (S2 and N2 in Levinsohn's original coding) was left out as not example with direct speech was coded for this parameter in the end. The original numbering of contexts was however maintained for possible comparison with other studies/languages.

O1	The referent occurs in the object position within the previous 2-3 clauses with no potential confusing referent interfering in between.
O3	The referent occurs in a different position/role in the previous 2-3 clauses but with no potential confusing referent interfering in between.
O4	Other contexts including occurrences of the referent earlier in the discourse than in the previous 2-3 clauses, occurrences after a potentiallly confusing interfering referents, and any other possibility not covered by O1 and O3.

Table 4.6: Objects

Instances of contexts not fitting into this categorisation, as well as more details about each context, are discussed in the analysis in Chapter 9.

Chapter 5

Makhuwa grammatical background

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief overview of certain aspects of Makhuwa grammar which are relevant for this study. It is not intended as a comprehensive description of the language, as this would be beyond the scope of this study. However, a thorough documentation and description of the Makhuwa-Meeto variety spoken in Pemba would be a useful project to take on in the future.

Instead this chapter focuses specifically on the grammatical forms which will be analysed in a discourse context in later chapters. The different ways in which one can refer to participants in Makhuwa discourse are explored, including a short description of noun classes, which helps contextualise the realisation of lexical NPs, subject and object markers, and personal and demonstrative pronouns. Apart from the study of these referring expressions, this chapter discusses some of the phenomena which affect the relationship between verbs and objects in Makhuwa, including the conjoint/disjoint alternation, object ellipsis and other issues relating to the argument structure of the verb. Lastly, this chapter ends with Section 5.5 surveying existing discourse studies in Makhuwa which relate to these issues with a special emphasis on Van der Wal's (2010) study of demonstratives in discourse. As there is virtually no published linguistic analysis of the variety studied in this thesis, this part draws more generally on the material available on other varieties of Makhuwa, with notes indicating where

differences were discovered for Makhuwa-Meeto spoken in Pemba. Due to the limited linguistic documentation of Makhuwa overall, the level of detail on various topics differs, depending on the materials available. As Makhuwa is a tonal language, a basic introduction to its tone system is given first, as this is necessary to better understand the Makhuwa examples.

5.2 Tone

As with most tonal Bantu languages, Makhuwa has a binary tone system distinguishing between high (H) and low (L) tones. It is very rare to find a word made up of only low tones, as the most common pattern is one or two underlying high tones depending on the number of moras in a word. In Makhuwa there is also a great difference between the tone system of noun phrases and that of clauses; nouns have lexical tone while verbs take their grammatical tone pattern depending on the various affixes, especially TAM markers and their specific function in the sentence. A number of tonal processes occur in Makhuwa which determine the final surface form of a word, namely High Tone Doubling (HTD), Long Fall (LF) and Predicate Lowering (PL). The latter affects the form of the noun which follows the conjoint verb form (see Section 5.4 on verbs for the distinction between conjoint and disjoint forms) and is briefly described below, as some of the literature discussed in this study makes reference to it in regard to the verb-object relationship.

(1) a. nakhúwo ‘maize’ (LHL)

b. *ki-n-thítá* *nakhuwó* (LLH)
1SG-PRES.CJ-pound 1A.maize
‘I pound maize’ (Van der Wal 2006:224)

In example (1a) we see the noun *nakhúwo* ‘maize’ in its citation form, with its default lexical tone pattern. In (1b) the same noun occurs in a sentence after a conjoint verb form and therefore undergoes PL. This is when the first underlying high tone is removed and an H boundary tone can be added. Therefore the first underlying H tone on

the middle mora of *nakhúwo* ‘maize’ is absent. If it were not sentence-final, the noun would have all low tones, but as it is sentence-final an H boundary tone is assigned to the last mora. PL occurs also when nouns or adjectives are used as predicates. Nouns which, unlike *nakhúwo*, have more than 3 syllables, undergo HTD where the underlying H tone spreads on to the next mora in non-final position, resulting in tone patterns such as LHHL, LHHLL or LLHHL. For an account of Makhuwa tone system see Cassimjee & Kisseberth (1999), Van der Wal (2006; 2009), Katupha (1983) and Cheng & Kisseberth (1979).

5.3 Referring expressions

The following section presents a discussion of the different ways a discourse participant can be referred to in Makhuwa, starting with lexical nouns and a description of the noun class system they belong to. Further, the categories of subject and object markers as well as personal and demonstrative pronouns are examined as they can also denote referents in discourse. They can occur in combination with a full lexical noun or on their own (and also in combination with each other, i.e. OM + personal pronoun). Their use as anaphoric expressions referring to an antecedent mentioned in the previous discourse has also been attested. All these expressions together make up the discourse participant-tracking system within which OMs are used, and therefore an understanding of each category is necessary to fully account for the use of OMs in a text.

5.3.1 Lexical nouns

The most basic way a participant can be referred to in a text, especially at first mention, is with an overt lexical noun phrase. Lexical nouns take their shape according to the noun class they belong to; a survey of the Makhuwa noun class system is therefore presented here.

Noun classes are numbered and paired following the better described Enhara variety

(Van der Wal 2009) and the numbering adheres more generally to the Bantu tradition based on reconstructed Proto-Bantu noun classes (see e.g. Maho 1999). Compared to other Bantu languages, the noun class system in Makhuwa is rather reduced. Interestingly, for all documented varieties, a merger of classes 7/8 and 9/10 has been noted (Van der Wal 2009, Stucky 1985, Katupha 1983) and this seems to be true also for Makhuwa-Meeto. Based on morphophonological factors, the resulting classes are labelled 9/10. This is not entirely unique within Bantu languages, as the same has been documented for the closely related Cuwabo language (Guérois 2015). However, there is some variation among Makhuwa dialects in the resulting morpho-phonological shape of these 'merged' 9/10 classes. In Makhuwa-Esaaka, the prefix *e-* is found for class 9 and *i-* for class 10,[1] noted as well by Prata (1960) and Centis (2001), both working on the Nampula variety of Makhuwa. In Makhuwa Enhara and Makhuwa Imithupi, on the other hand, classes 9 and 10 have the same noun class prefix, making the singular and plural forms of nouns belonging to them identical (Stucky 1985, Van der Wal 2009). In Makhuwa Enhara the common identical prefix for classes 9 and 10 is *e-*, while in Makhuwa Imithupi it is *i-*. Makhuwa Meeto seems to pattern with the Enhara variety as can be noted in Table 5.1 (although because of the vowel quality of /e/ and /i/ in Makhuwa the difference between these is sometimes difficult to perceive). This was consistent with the transcription made by native speakers, although in some instances class 10 prefix was transcribed as *i-*, probably in accordance with the standardized written form of Makhuwa which is based on the Nampula variety.

In classes 1, 3 and 18, *mw-* is used before vowel initial stems and a homorganic moraic nasal (N) before consonants; monosyllabic stems take *mu-*. In class 5, the homorganic moraic nasal occurs before alveolar, retroflex and palatal consonants, while the prefix *ni-* occurs with all other stems (Van der Wal 2009). Classes 1 and 2 also include the subclasses 1a and 2a, where 1a has a zero prefix but class 2a maintains the prefix *a-*, although with a different tone pattern in some varieties. These two classes are paired together for the singular and plural form (2) as can also be seen in Table 5.1.

[1] Although Katupha (1985) notes that this is only an orthographic convention as they occur in free distribution in speech.

Noun class	Noun class prefix	noun example	translation
1	N-/mw-/mu-	ńtthu	person
1a	Ø-	kharámu	lion
2	a-	átthu	people
2a	a-	ákhárámu	lions
3	N-/mw-/mu	mwétto	foot
4	mi-	meétto	feet
5	ni-/n-	nlúku	stone
6	ma-	malúku	stones
9	e-	emánka	mango (fruit)
10	e-	emánka	mangos
14	o-	orávo	honey
15	o-	ováha	to give
16	va-, wa- (-ni)	vathí	on the ground
17	o- (-ni)	ontékóni	at work
18	N-/mw-/mu (-ni)	nkoóphúni	in the cup (from i-koophu ‘cup’)

Table 5.1: Makhuwa noun class system (prefix form conventions based on Van der Wal 2009: 39)

(2) a. kharámu ‘lion’ (1a)

b. á-khárámu ‘lions’ (2a) (Kisseberth 2003: 560)

Class 1 and 2 encompass many nouns representing humans and other animates consistently with other Bantu languages (quite a number of animals can be found in class 1a/2a as in (2)). However, these classes are semantically much wider and a closer study of the nouns belonging to classes 1 and 2 might reveal further patterns. These classes are not populated by animates exclusively as we find nouns such as *nancoola* ‘fish hook’ (Makhuwa Enhara - Van der Wal 2009) or certain loan words of Portuguese origins such as *alyu* ‘garlic’ (class 1a/2a).

Just like other varieties (e.g. Enhara, Nampula) Makhuwa-Meeto uses class 2/2a prefix *a-* also for acknowledgement of respect (as in *a-pipi* from *pipi* ‘grandmother, older women’) rather than for plurality. Proto-Bantu diminutive classes 12 and 13 are absent in Makhuwa. Kisseberth (2003) notes that diminutives are formed by adding the prefix *mw-a-* (e.g. *i-káríko* ‘cooking pot’ becomes *mw-á-kárikho* ‘little cooking pot’) and the prefix *a-xi-* is used to form plural diminutives (*a-xí-námwáne* ‘small children’ from *anámwáne* ‘children’) (Kisseberth 2003: 562). However, this was not found in the Pemba variety and the prefix *a-xi-* was percieved by speakers to denote a generic meaning, i.e. *axínámwáne* ‘children in general’. Class 14 covers abstract and non-count nouns, while class 15 includes infinitive verbs. The prefixes for these classes are known to vary according to the dialect; in the Rovuma varieties for example they take the form *u-* rather than *o-*. Classes 16-18 include, as in other Bantu languages, underived and derived locative expressions. In regard to these, Makhuwa-Meeto patterns with the other documented varieties of Makhuwa, as the locative class prefixes are *va-*, *o-*, N-; and the suffix *-ni* is added to noun stems in addition to the noun class prefix to derive locatives.

(3) *n-koóphú-ni* ‘in the cup’ (class 18) from *i-koóphu* ‘cup’ (class 9)

As in other Bantu languages, the class of the noun triggers agreement within the noun

phrase on other constituents such as demonstratives, adjectives and possessors. It also determines the form of the subject and object agreement markers on the verb (see Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3) for a discussion of each of these elements). (4) is an illustration of agreement with the class of the head noun on other constituents of the NP; here the adjectives, quantifier, and demonstrative all exhibit agreement with the noun class of the head:

(4) *ma-khule oo-riipa ma-nceene ma-khaani ale*
6-mice 6.CONN.15-be.black 6-many 6-small 6.DEM.III
'those many small black mice' (Van der Wal 2010: 187)

An interesting pattern has been observed during interviews with speakers in the field. The dialectal variation of the vowels /i/ vs. /e/ for noun classes 9/10 prefixes and /u/ and /o/ for the noun class 15 prefix was also noted among speakers within the studied variety of Makhuwa-Meeto[2] . Speakers in Pemba 'city' viewed this alternation as a difference of the 'city vs. countryside' type of speech. In the opinion of Makhuwa speakers from Pemba, the variety using /e/ and /o/ - used also in our examples and closer to the standard version - is connected to the way people speak in the countryside or the outermost part of the city. On the other hand, the version using /i/ and /u/ was considered as a 'city' variety. Aside from the sociolinguistic attitudes this variation might bring out in speakers, it points to a greater variety in the Makhuwa dialect continuum that still requires further research. Moreover, it points to the fact that 'Pemba Makhuwa' has certain distinct features from the variety in the rest of the region, commonly referred to as Meeto. Whether this is linked to the multilingual setting of the city of Pemba and the different varities of Makhuwa present due to migration to urban centres remains to be seen.

[2]For a proposed phonological analysis of /e/ and /o/ as underlyingly [i] and [u] see Schadeberg and Mucanheia (2000: 17)

5.3.2 Subject markers

Subject markers denote the corresponding subject on the verb. The form of the subject marker is determined by the noun class of the subject and it can occur together with the corresponding lexical NP or without. Makhuwa has a full paradigm of SMs, one corresponding to each noun class and participant, as presented in Tables 5.2 and 5.3.

Person and number	Subject marker
1SG	ki-
2SG	o-
1PL	ni-
2PL	N- / mw-/ mwi-

Table 5.2: Makhuwa subject markers 1

Class	Subject marker
1	ho- / a-
2	a-
3	o-
4	tsi-
5	ni-
6	a-
9	e-
10	tsi-
14	o-
15	o-
16	wa-
17	o-
18	N- / mw- / mwi-

Table 5.3: Makhuwa subject markers 2

Some sources (e.g. Stucky 1985) consider the SM on the verb obligatory for all classes, and for many varieties it is found on all verb forms with the exception of the

infinitive, narrative, and imperative conjugations (Van der Wal 2009, Kaputha 1983). In the variety collected for this study, the narrative (which is identical in form to the infinitive) is widespread in many environments resulting in a low frequency of SMs, as will be explained in Chapter 7. Although this does not contradict the pattern in other varieties, labelling subject marking as obligatory or present in most verb forms in the texts seems unsuitable as it does not fully reflect its actual use. In early missionary sources, the SM is also said to be sometimes left out for the 'present and perfect tense' (Woodward 1926: 282). Unfortunately only one example is available, presented in (5), which appears to be in the present perfect, but no context is given which would aid our understanding of its use in discourse.

(5) *ho-roa*
PRF-go
'he has gone' (Woodward 1926:282)

According to Stucky there are very few instances where the SM is absent, one of which is Class 1 and 1a nouns and third person 'uninitiated' singular. Unfortunately, this is left without examples or further explanation. Kisseberth (2003) also notes a zero subject prefix for classes 1 and 1a but does not discuss this further or in relation to the varieties of Makhuwa.[3]

When the SM occurs without the corresponding overt NP, this is usually interpreted as anaphoric. In addition, Stucky (1985) notes that the SM in such an environment can also denote an indefinite subject.

(6) Anóórwaa 'he left' / 'someone left' (Stucky 1985:14)

5.3.3 Object markers

Although object markers in Makhuwa agree with the object of the verb, as in other Bantu languages, the object marking paradigm is very unusual for Bantu as it is highly

[3]This could be related to certain phonological environments, as Van der Wal (2009) notes for Makhuwa Enhara that one of the class 1 SM forms *o-* disappears before a vowel initial stem.

restricted. In Makhuwa object markers exist only for 1st and 2nd person, and for classes 1/2.

Person/class	Object marker
1SG	-ki-
2SG	-u-
1PL	-ni-
2PL	-u- + -ni
class 1	-N-
class 2	-a-

Table 5.4: Makhuwa object markers

For any construction where an overt object noun from class 1/2 occurs, the use of the corresponding OM is obligatory. This depends purely on noun class membership and is not linked to any semantic or pragmatic features such as humanness or animacy, as in other Bantu languages. Consequently, no noun of any other noun class can trigger object marking on the verb, regardless of its semantic meaning, morphosyntactic function or discourse function. OMs for other noun classes do not exist and cannot be replaced with any of the existing OMs presented in Table 5.4. The examples in (7) illustrate the distribution of OMs in Makhuwa. (7a) shows that the OM is obligatory with class 1 nouns, while (7b) shows that a merge in OM agreement between noun classes 1/2 and other noun classes is not possible as the use of class 1/2 OMs with nouns of any other class is ungrammatical.

(7) a. *ki-ni*(-ḿ)-wéha Hamisi / namarokoló / nancoólo.*
1SG-PRS.CJ-OM1-look 1.Hamisi / 1.hare / 1.fish.hook
'I see Hamisi / the hare / the fish hook.'

b. *ki-ni(*-ḿ)-wéha nveló / mokhorá / kalapinteéro / etthepó*
1SG-PRS.CJ-OM1-look 3.broom / 4.doors / 5.carpenter / 9.elephant
'I see the broom / doors / carpenter / elephant'

(Van der Wal 2009: 84-85)

Object markers also occur for first and second person speech participants. An OM

exists for each person in the singular and plural form. For second person plural, an additional suffix *-ni* is suffixed to the verb which differentiates it from second person singular (similarly to Swahili). Example (8) shows an instance of first person singular OM, while example (9) demonstrates the occurrence of an OM for second person plural and the corresponding plurality marker *-ni*.

(8) *khu-ki-rúp-íh-ale* *ohíyu*
NEG.SM2SG-OM1SG-sleep-CAUS-PERF.DJ night
'You don't let me sleep at night. (Van der Wal 2009: 70)

(9) *kaa-húú-wehá-ní* *nyúwáánó-tsé ootéene*
1SG.PAST-OM2PL-look-PLA 2PL.PRO-PL 2.all
'I had seen you all.' (Van der Wal 2009: 85)

How the presence of overt pronouns affects the use of OMs for first and second person and their 'obligatoriness' with pronouns has not been studied systematically yet. As personal pronouns were rarely found in the studied texts, this cannot be studied in great detail here either. However, in section 5.3.4 we will see that the use of OMs and personal pronouns interact in double object constructions where more than one participant needs to be expressed, as in (15). The existing OMs for class 1/2 occur also without an overt NP. In fact, if referring to an object belonging to these classes, the use of the OM is obligatory here too, as in (10):

(10) *aahí-ḿ-wehá* *nkaráfá-ni mwe*
SM1.PAST.PERF.DJ-OM1-look 18.jar-LOC 18.DEM.III
'He saw him in that jar.' (Van der Wal 2009: 9)

Although obligatoriness of class 1/2 OMs without the corresponding nouns is hard to demonstrate, the Makhuwa-Meeto consultants for this study repeatedly confirmed examples of object drop with clear reference to class 1/2 nouns as ungrammatical. A future deeper study of these types of instances is nonetheless needed to verify this pattern.

Stucky presents a parallel with SM, stating that when the overt NP is absent, the OM can acquire an anaphoric or indefinite reading, as in the two readings of (11):

(11) *Híń-Sepété áhó-ń-thúm-a*
HON-Sepete SM1.TAM-OM1-buy-FV
'Sepete bought it.' / 'Sepete bought something.' (Stucky 1985:18)

This observation about object marking is intriguing for this study as the second reading of example (11) would suggest the use of class 1 OM more generally for an indefinite referent regardless of noun class membership, as nothing in this example suggests a link to class 1/2. However, the indefinite reading was is not possible in Makhuwa Meeto. This kind of reading is different from the use of OM for non-specific nouns, which however still belong to class 1.

(12) *yéná iir-alé kha-ń-kí-tsivela o-ḿ-wéhá*
1.PRO SM1.say-PERF.CJ NEG-PRES-SM1SG-please.DJ SM15-OM1-look
ńtthu
1.person
'He said that I don't like to see anyone.' (Van der Wal 2009:85)

Van der Wal (2009) emphasizes noun class membership as the condition for the object marking, showing that specificity plays no role here as OMs can be used for specific as well as non-specific nouns, as in example (12). It is rather the noun class 1 of the noun *ńtthu* 'person' which explains the presence of the OM. The use of *ńtthu* 'person' for non-specific human referents is common across Bantu languages and has a parallel use also in Swahili, as in (13):

(13) *Si-ja-pata ku-mw-ona mtu*
SM1SG.NEG-PRF.NEG-get INF-OM1-see 1.person
'I didn't get to see anyone'

The use of class 1 OM for indefinite referents noted by Stucky (1985) has not been attested for other varieties and only stresses the importance of studying the link of OM to discourse. Makhuwa belongs to the group of Bantu languages which have only one slot for the OM and therefore only one object at the time can be co-indexed on the verb. In case of more than one object, this slot is reserved to class 1/2 nouns and first and second person participants including both direct and indirect objects (Riedel 2009). If,

however, both objects belong to class 1/2 or are first and second person, the indirect object is object-marked on the verb (14a). Trying to co-index the direct object on the verb instead is ungrammatical (14b). For more information on Makhuwa double object constructions see Section 5.4.2 on argument structure.

(14) a. *Mwanámwáne o-n-aá-váhá ashipaap'-aáwé naphúlu*
1.child SM1-PRES.CJ-OM2-give 2.parents-2.POSS.1 1.frog
'The child$_i$ gave the frog to his$_i$ parents.'

b. **mwanámwáne o-ni-ḿ-váha ashipaap'-aáwé naphúlu*
1.child SM1-PRES.CJ-OM1-give 2.parents-2.POSS.1 1.frog
Int. ('The child$_i$ gave the frog to his$_i$ parents.')

(Van der Wal 2009: 86)

Makhuwa is sometimes said to be the only Bantu language known to have this highly restricted object marking system (Riedel 2009), but in fact the Ekoti language spoken in the Angoche district (Nampula, Mozambique) bears many similarities to Makhuwa in its inflectional morphology, including the same reduced OM paradigm (Schadeberg & Mucanheia 2000). In addition, more recently, the closely related Cuwabo language, spoken in the Zambezia province of Mozambique, was also found to exhibit the same pattern in object marking (Guerois 2015). This is true at least superficially, as the effects of these paradigms on other areas of grammar such as discourse remain poorly understood and unavailable for comparison. For example, Wald (1979) notes that some Cameroonian and Nigerian Bantu languages which do not have the OM category at all, use a monosyllabic pronoun in the same environments where an OM is used pronominally in other Bantu languages. Thus a wider comparative study of the (non-)use of OMs in languages such as Makhuwa would contribute to a better understanding of this phenomenon and broaden our knowledge of the typology of object marking in Bantu. Therefore, it is exactly as a step in this direction that some of the effects of this unusual pattern of object marking on discourse, and on the verbal argument structure in Makhuwa, are examined in Chapter 6 of this study.

5.3.4 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Makhuwa come in two forms; a short and a long form. Van der Wal (2009) notes that the preferences in the use of these forms are still unclear. The second person plural form is used also for singular addressees to show respect and politeness, for example when talking to an older person. There is a similarity to the politeness pronoun distinction for second person in Portuguese, where the respectful form *vôce* (rather than the common *tu*) takes the agreement pattern of second person plural. However, as the distinction is found in other Bantu languages such as Bemba, the similarity to Portuguese is more likely to be coincidental.

		Short form	Long form
SG	1	mi	mivaano
	2	we	wevaano?
	3	yena	
PL	1	hi	hivaano
	2	nyu	nyuwano
	3	ayena	

Table 5.5: Personal pronouns

The morphophonological forms in the personal pronoun paradigm are most likely the remains of a more complex pronominal system, such as the one described by Katupha (1983) for the Esaka variety, which has more than one long form for each pronoun. The origin of the form and the exact use of the different forms of personal pronouns is unclear and remains to be studied. In addition, the third person plural short pronoun form seems to be the singular counterpart with the prefix *a-* (which is identical to the corresponding noun class prefix for class 2 - therefore also denoting plurality). The longer forms for third person both singular and plural seem to be missing in Enhara and also in the Meeto variety under study, but have been documented for Esaka (Katupha 1983) and also in older missionary work on Makhuwa (Sacramento 1906: 365).

Personal pronouns are said to be mostly used for extra emphasis (Woodward 1926, Katupha 1983) or to express an argument which cannot be marked on the verb by a prefix (Van der Wal 2009), as shown in example (15). This example consists of a double object construction with the verb *váha* 'give'. As both objects, namely 'me' and 'you', are speech participants, they imply obligatory object marking. However, as there is only one OM slot on the verb, the recepient object 'me' is object marked, while the theme object 'you' is expressed by the personal pronoun *wé*.

(15) *Folórá o-núú-kí-váha wé (para w-uú-rúma)*
1.Flora SM1-PRF.PERS-OM1SG-give PRO.2SG (for SM15-OM2SG-send)
'Flora gave you to me (to send you)'

(Van der Wal 2009: 64)

Katupha (1983) confirms this by presenting examples where personal pronouns are used for emphasis or contrast, as well as when agreement markers on the verb are not present.

(16) *nyú waáháwaláca a-sáári'-ihu n-owáa-ni (...) nyú*
2PL.PRO INF.have.sex 2-wife-POSS.1PL 18-home-LOC 2PL.PRO
mwa-asípaní?
2PL-who
'you fellows, to have sex with our wives back home, you fellows, who are you (who do you think you are)?' (Katupha 1983:69)

In Katupha's (1983) analysis of (16), there is no subject marker on the verb[4] and the personal pronoun *nyú* 'you (PL)' is used instead, while the subject marker is present on the question word 'who'(used predicatively here) in the second part of the sentence where the same pronoun is most likely used for emphasis (Katupha 1983: 69). If the use of personal pronouns is really linked to missing agreement markers on the verb, one could expect the use of third person pronouns for classes other than 1/2 when the overt NP is not present and no OM exists to refer back to it. This was however not encountered in the data, as will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 8. In some cases,

[4]This could be also analysed as a subject marker which merged with the vowel-initial verb stem, as explained in Van der Wal (2009)

demonstrative pronouns were used instead, discussed in Section 5.3.5.

5.3.5 Demonstratives

Makhuwa demonstratives can be divided into three sets in terms of distance from the speaker. The first set (DEM I) refers to a referent close to the speaker while the second set (DEM II) refers to a referent close to the addressee. The third group (DEM III) indicates a referent distant from both the speaker and the addressee. This is therefore a person-oriented system. Such a three-way system of demonstratives is common for Bantu languages (Nurse and Phillipson 2003). Van der Wal further notes that if the speaker is indicating an item particularly far away from both the speaker and the addressee, the demonstrative III is pronounced with a very high pitch, with a possibility of lengthening the last syllable (this pattern of last syllable lengthening to denote intensity was observed to be applied also to different categories, such as adverbs in Makhuwa Meeto).

	DEM I (this)	DEM II (that)	DEM III (that- further)
1	óla	óyo	óle
2	ála	áyo	ále
3	óla	óyo	óle
4	nníya	íyo	íye
5	ńna	ńno	ńne
6	ála	áyo	ále
9	éla	éyo	éle
10	ńnya	ńnyo	ńnye
14	óla	óyo	óle
16	vá	vó	vále
17	ńno	úwo	úwe
18	mú	ḿmo	ḿmwe

Table 5.6: Makhuwa simple demonstratives

The initial vowels of demonstratives for classes 1, 3 and 14 as well as demonstratives

for classes 9 are subject to the /o/ vs /u/ and /e/ vs /i/ intradialectal variation discussed for noun class prefixes. In addition to simple demonstratives, all three sets of demonstratives can occur in their reduplicated form.

	I	II	III
1	oloóla	oyoóyo	oloóle
2	alaála	ayaáyo	alaále
3	oloóla	oyoóyo	oloóle
4	iyeíya	iyoíyo	iyeíye
5	nnańna	nnońno	nneńne
6	alaála	ayaáyo	alaále
9	eleéla	eyeéyo	eleéle
10	iyeíya	iyoíyo	iyeíye
14	oloólá	oyoóyó	oloóle
16	vááva	váávo	váávale
17	wóńno	wówwo	wó(n)we
18	móómu	móḿmo	móḿwe

Table 5.7: Makhuwa reduplicated demonstratives

Van der Wal (2009) observes the use of these reduplicated demonstratives for emphasis. Their use however requires further study, as these are not the only demonstratives said to be used emphatically. In addition to the demonstratives presented above, in Makhuwa we can find another set which Van der Wal refers to as 'emphatic demonstratives' (Van der Wal 2010: 186). Van der Wal describes these as being formed by the use of the simple demonstrative and an agreeing prefix (glossed as E) as shown in (17). These emphatic demonstratives are also present in Makhuwa Esaaka (Katupha 1983).

(17) *válé okhúmá nihúkú né-ǹné...*
16.DEM.III 15.exit 5.day 5E-5.DEM.III
'as of that day/ from that day on...' (Van der Wal 2009: 48)

Aside from these various sets of demonstratives, there is also an additional context in

which they can occur. In some environments the noun may be preceded by a demonstrative as well as being followed by one. This form is called 'doubled demonstrative' (Van der Wall 2010: 188). Woodward (1926) also notes the frequent use of this type of demonstrative construction. In (18), the demonstrative *ólé* occurs both before and after the noun *mwaára* 'wife' and the co-occuring possessive form *áwe*, thus forming a double demonstrative.

(18) *masi ólé mwaár'-áw'-oolé aá-háaná mpátthány'-áawe*
but 1.DEM.III 1.wife-1.POSS.1-1.DEM.II 1SM.IMPF-have 1.friend-1.POSS.1
'but his wife had a friend.'

(Van der Wall 2010: 188)

According to Van der Wal (2010), in terms of syntactic function demonstratives can act as determiner of a noun (19a), or as a pronoun - either fulfilling an argument role (19b) or acting as an adjunct modifying a VP (19c).

(19) a. *mwalápwá ole oo-mór-éla*
1.dog 1.dem.III 1sm.perf.dj-fall-appl
'That dog fell down.'

b. *ólé oo-vélá-vela*
1.dem.III sm1.prf.dj-get.stuck-red
'He got stuck.'

c. *oo-vényá o-h-ońkóma válé*
sm1.perf.dj-wake sm1-perf.dj-sit 16.dem.III
'He woke up, he sat down there.'

(Van der Wal 2010: 186-7)

The use of demonstratives is essential for this study as the choice of one type of demonstrative over another (but also the use as determiner or anaphorically as a pronoun) can signal not only emphasis but also reactivation of referents mentioned in previous discourse. Van der Wal's (2010) discussion of the discourse function of demonstratives is presented in Section 5.5.1.

As different types of demonstratives are used for emphasis, and the same is also said about personal pronouns, the distribution of these various sets of forms remains

to be studied. As no particular personal pronouns exist for classes other than 1/2, their use might be related to the class of the referent, e.g. personal pronoun for participants and class 1/2 and demonstratives for all other classes. For example, class 1/2 have been attested to be denoted by both and a study of the environments is therefore needed to see any systematic patterns.

5.3.6 Possessives

As shown in some of the previous examples, demonstratives often combine with possessors when modifying a noun, something found often in the Makhuwa texts studied. Therefore in Table 5.8, possessive pronouns are presented for first and second person participants and classes 1/2.

Person	SG	PL
1	aka	ihu
2	aa	inyu
3	awe	aya
Class	possessive pronoun	
1	awe	
2	aya	

Table 5.8: Makhuwa possessive pronouns

For all other classes the possessive relationship is expressed by the connective *-a* which agrees with the noun class of the possessed noun, a common strategy in Bantu languages. An equivalent structure has also been attested in Makhuwa Meeto for first and second person participants and classes 1/2 as an alternative to the forms presented above. Example (20) shows two ways of expressing the NP 'my mongoes'; either with the NP and the clitisized possessive pronoun (a) or, alternatively, with the pronoun embedded in a genitive construction with the connective element *-a* 'of' (b).

(20) a. *emanka'-ka*
10.mango-10.POSS.1SG

b. *emanka ya waka*
10.mango 10.CONN POSS.1SG

Van der Wal (2009) notes that the class 2 possessor *aya* can also be used for other classes.

(21) *mapúrúrw'-ááyá nikhúle*
6.fur-6.*poss*.2 5.mouse
'the mouse's fur' (Van der Wal 2009:45)

Interestingly, possessors are also used as suffixes in non-subject relatives to express the subject, as described by Van der Wal (2010). In the texts collected for this study certain structures with clitizised possessive were observed. These have been labelled 'narrative' forms here (22) and seem to be a special trait of the variety recorded in Pemba. An in-depth analysis of these forms is beyond the scope of this study but this phenomenon deserves more attention in further research. The narrative forms are briefly described below.

(22) *Phaa-tthin-eehu ma-thap' ale*
NARR-collect-POSS1PL 6-mathapa 6.DEMIII
'And when we collected those cassava leaves'

One of the characteristics of these construction is the use of clitizised possessives to express the subject (such as *-eehu* for 1PL subject 'we' in example (22)). In this sense, they strongly resemble the non-subject relative constructions described by Van der Wal (2010) and Kisseberth (2003) which express the subject in the same way.

(23) *Maríá oo-wúryá eleétí e-mwarish-aly-ááwe Ali*
1.Maria 1.PERF.DJ-drink 9.milk 9-pour-PERF.REL-POSS.1 1.Ali
'Maria drank the milk that Ali poured.' (Van der Wal 2010: 211)

In their semantic and pragmatic use in the collected texts they would fit within the 'temporal' type of such relative clauses demonstrated by Van der Wal's (2010) example below.

(24) *válé wa-phanr-y-ááwé* *mwalápw' ááwé*
then 16-get.stuck-PERF.REL-POSS.11. dog 1.POSS.1
n-karáfá-ni *mwé . . .*
18-jar-LOC 18.DEM
'And when his dog got stuck in that jar . . . '

However, the forms of such constructions in the texts collected for this study slightly differ, especially in terms of the prefixes found on them. Mostly, these forms are prefixed by *ph-/phaa-/phu-/phii-*. These are presumably a combination a sort of narrative/temporal prefix and a TAM marker. Furthermore, the *ph-* could have a link to locative subject prefixes in other Bantu languages which are also used to denote a narrative sequence, such as the use of the Swahili locative class 16 prefix below.

(25) *Pa-li-pit-a* *mu-da*
SM16-PST-pass-FV 3-while
'There passed a while.' (Mohamed 1990: 56 adapted from Marten 2011)

Furthermore, the use of the clitizised possessives with these narrative forms has some discrepancies with the possessive paradigm presented above. The form *-nyu* (2PL, also used as a respectful way of addressing someone) is used also as a clitic when referring to a singular human subject (26). The possessive form *-aya* (3PL and class 2) on the other hand, is used also in narrative forms corresponding to a singular non-human subject (regardless of noun class), ex.(27).

(26) *Teresa phaa-hel-* *en'yu n-soro*
Teresa NARR-put-POSS2PL 3-rice
'Teresa then puts the rice.'

(27) *ph-wans-aya* *o-pwatuwa*
NARR-start-POSS2 INF-boil
'it starts to boil (the rice)'

These forms therefore need further research to shed more light on their morphological shape as well as their use.

5.4 Notes on argument structure

The way in which objects occur with verbs as their arguments affects the way in which they are referred to in discourse. This section therefore gives a summary of certain relevant phenomena: the conjoint/disjoint alternation, double object constructions, object drop and the verb-object relationship viewed from an information structure perspective.

5.4.1 Conjoint/disjoint alternation

One of the basic verb forms which informs our understanding of the relationship between the verb and its object(s) in Makhuwa is the conjoint/disjoint alternation. The conjoint/disjoint alternation is a morphological distinction between two verb forms (a phonologically shorter and a longer one) found in some tenses. This has been described for many Bantu languages especially from the south such as Zulu (Buell 2007). Schadeberg describes their alternation as follows: "The general but oversimplified statement about their distribution is that the short form is used before a complement and the long form elsewhere" (Schadeberg 1995: 177). This phenomenon, however, is much more complex and the nuances of it vary for each language. A full description of this alternation in Makhuwa is beyond the scope of this study, but some basic facts are presented below, as an understanding of these forms is essential for our discussion of objects in Makhuwa. For a detailed investigation of the Makhuwa CJ/DJ paradigm see **?** and Van der Wal (2009; 2011).

For Makhuwa the CJ/DJ distinction can be found in the present, present perfective, past imperfective and past perfective both in the affirmative and negative (Van der Wal 2009). Crucially for our discussion, in Makhuwa, both tone and the conjoint/disjoint alternation interact with objects occupying the post-verbal position. An object following a disjoint verb form has the 'citation form' tone pattern, while the object following a conjoint verb form undergoes predicative lowering. Furthermore, conjoint verb forms can never appear sentence-finally; an object or some kind of adjunct has to follow. This is in contrast to the disjoint form, which can optionally occur sentence-finally. Van der

Wal (2006) analyses this alternation as possibly linked to information structure: 'If the element directly following the verb is in the scope of focus, the verb has its CJ form; if this is not the case, or if the verb is sentence-final (...), the verb appears in its DJ form' (Van der Wal 2006:226).

(28) a. *o-náá-thípa* (DJ)
SM1-PRS.DJ-dig
'she is digging'

b. *o-n-thípá* *nlittí* (CJ)
SM1-PRS.CJ-dig 5.hole
'she digs a hole' (Van der Wal 2006: 226)

5.4.2 Double object constructions

Passivisation shows that Makhuwa is an asymmetric language, as only the indirect or applied object can be the subject of a corresponding passive construction (van der Wal 2009). In regards to the object-marking test, this is restricted by the limited object marking system of the language. It has been explained in section 5.3.3 that in Makhuwa objects from class 1 or 2 or first and second person all trigger obligatory object marking. When there is more than one object from one of these classes, only the indirect object will be co-indexed on the verb (Van der Wal 2009).

The tests which raise more questions are word order and verb adjacency of objects. Van der Wal notes that in contrast with other Bantu languages, Makhuwa selects S V DO IO as the unmarked word order for no clear reason, as in the following example:

(29) *Amíná* *o-n-aá-rúw-él'* *éshimá* *anámwáne*
1.Amina SM1-PRS.CJ-OM2-stir-APPL 9.shima 2.children
'Amina cooks shima for the children'

(Van der Wal 2009: 228)

However, further on in Van der Wal (2009), we find an example of a ditransitive clause which exhibits the typologically common word order, i.e. S V IO DO.

(30) *mwanámwáne o-n-aá-váhá ashipaap'-aáwé naphúlu*
1.child SM1-PRS.CJ-OM2-give 2.parents-2.POSS.1 1.frog
'The child$_i$ gave the frog to his$_i$ parents.'

(Van der Wal 2009: 296)

Van der Wal (2009) notes that the word order of objects can be influenced by animacy factors and information structure which influences word order in Makhuwa generally. These examples need however further investigation. Another difference between the two sentences which needs to be considered is that only example (29) is an applicative construction, while (30) is an inherently ditransitive verb. Therefore, there might be a difference in the syntactic behaviour of objects depending on the inherent semantic valency or in connection with valency changing processes.

Van der Wal (2009) makes another further observation on the semantic argument structure of the verb in Makhuwa. When deriving an applicative from a verb expressing movement from a location, the applied verb becomes goal oriented and the location becomes the goal. In (31) the verb *othámá* 'to move from somewhere' occurs with the location expressing where the moving is from (*Nacala*). But in the second part of the example, when the verb occurs in its applied form *othámélá*, the meaning becomes goal oriented 'to move to' and, as a consequence, the locative argument 'Ilha' becomes the goal.

(31) *ni-n-thámá onakhálá ni-n-thám-élá onhípíti*
SM1PL-PRS.CJ-move 17.nacala SM1PL-PRS.CJ-move-APPL 17.Ilha
'We move from Nacala to Ilha.'

(Van der Wal 2009: 72)

Aside from the semantic change, this example is particularly relevant for the discussion of the status of locatives as (non)objects. As Van der Wal (2009) states that an applicative can add a location as an argument of the verb frame, presumably in this example the location goes from not being an argument (in the case of Nacala) to being included as one (Ilha). Whether in an example with nouns of class 1/2 this change would be also reflected in the object marking pattern remains to be seen.

5.4.3 Object ellipsis

Not much is found in the published literature on object ellipsis in Makhuwa. Van der Wal (2010) notes that the omission of an object is possible if it is clear from the context. In Chapters 6 and 7 this study looks for more details on the environments in which this phenomenon occurs.

5.4.4 Information structure

In terms of information structure, Van der Wal (2009) raises the issues of focus-verb adjacency in Makhuwa, calling for further research on this topic. The IAV (Immediately After Verb) position in Makhuwa seems to be the sole position for an element which receives an exclusive focus interpretation. In Makhuwa this is directly linked to the conjoint/disjoint verb alternation. Van der Wal therefore asks "... is there maybe a more fundamental syntactic or interpretational characteristic of the (inflected) verb that allows or requires the focus interpretation of the element in its direct environment?" (Van der Wal 2009:267). This is connected to yet another issue which remains unclear in Makhuwa, namely the interaction of conjoint verb forms and exclusive focus in double object and applicative constructions (van der Wal 2009).

5.5 Makhuwa discourse

It is not surprising, considering the generally extremely limited linguistic focus on Makhuwa, that the discourse of this language has not received much attention yet; hence one of the motivations behind this study is to address this question. An exception to this state of the field, however, is Van der Wal's (2010) study of Makhuwa demonstratives which also uncovered some more general discourse patterns of the language. As it is a key reference for the present study of Makhuwa texts, her findings are presented in detail in the following section.

5.5.1 Demonstratives in discourse

The use of demonstratives in discourse has been noted already by Stucky (1985) for Makhuwa Imiputhi:

> "There are no articles as such, although the demonstratives have not only a function marking distance from the speaker and hearer but also a function related to the definiteness with respect to discourse. That is, depending on the position of a noun in the sentence, a demonstrative can be used as just that, or it can signal to the audience that that noun has been mentioned before" (Stucky 1985: 8).

Van der Wal (2010) provides a much more detailed analysis of the use of demonstratives in texts, going beyond their function as referents of deictic spatial meanings. Although demonstratives in Makhuwa are used for 'referring to an entity in the speech setting' (2010: 183) they are also used to encode several discourse functions. Van der Wal explores their use for anaphoric reference and their occurrence in topic shifts, tail-head linking and at episode boundaries. The demonstratives here refer to entities that are less accessible to the listener at that point of the narrative. Moreover, speakers appear to make use of demonstratives also in text-structuring and to signal the particular importance of a certain referent, as we will see in this section.

Van der Wal's study makes a comparison in the frequency of use among the three basic demonstrative types. In her data, the demonstratives of series III were five times more frequent than those of series I, and 13 times more frequent than those of series II (excluding locatives, which are treated differently as explained in the final section). Van der Wal explains the difference in frequency among the three sets of demonstratives in terms of their exophoric and endophoric use.

> "In exophoric use, or situational use (Himmelmann 1996), demonstratives refer to concrete objects or persons in the surrounding situation, which have the speaker as the deictic centre and which can be accompanied

> by a pointing gesture. Endophoric uses include reference to the propositions themselves (discourse deixis) and anaphoric reference to entities mentioned earlier in the discourse. Although all three series can be used exophorically, series I and II are used predominantly in that way. This is visible in the relatively high percentage of occurrences of series I and II in direct speech and thoughts, where the participants in the story (indirectly exophorically) refer to their situation" (Van der Wal 2010: 191).

From these observations, Van der Wal concludes that one would expect demonstratives in series III to be used predominantly endophorically, and in turn anaphoric deixis to be often indicated by demonstratives in series II (I will come back to these predictions in the data analysis in chapter 7). The term 'anaphoric' here is used for the function of a demonstrative referring to an earlier mentioned entity.

Similarly to the present study on OMs, Van der Wal puts demonstratives in the context of other referring expressions which can be used anaphorically. This includes personal pronouns as well as subject and object markers but also zero anaphora in the case of objects (Van der Wal 2010). The question therefore emerges of how the choice of demonstratives rather than any other form can be accounted for. For her analysis Van der Wal (2010) draws on work by Diessel (1999).

> "What all anaphoric demonstratives have in common is that they do not just continue the focus of attention, rather, they indicate that the antecedent is not the referent that the hearer would expect in this context (i.e. the most topical NP) ..." Diessel (1999:99)

Van der Wal notes that this is useful for the analysis of Makhuwa demonstratives but adds that Himmelmann's (1996) view, which suggests that the demonstratives are one of the common ways to track a referent, fits the Makhuwa data better. "(...) demonstratives are used for tracking referents whose topicality (Brown & Yule 1983), accessibility (Ariel 1990) or activation state (Gundel 1993) is intermediate between that for personal pronouns and that for definite full NPs" (Himmelmann 1996: 226). This

reflects the 'activation status' of referents in the speaker's mind discussed in Section 4.3.3. For Makhuwa, Van der Wal proposes the following accessibility hierarchy of referential expressions:

(32) N+modifier > N > N + dem > dem N dem > dem/pronoun > prefix

(Van der Wal 2010: 195)

Therefore, according to Van der Wal, based on their form and their position in the hierarchy, demonstratives appear to be somewhere in between the two extremes on the continuum. They identify less accessible referents which are not completely inaccessible. On one end of the spectrum the least accessible referents are encoded by a full indefinite noun, and on the opposite end, the most accessible referent is encoded only by the subject marker (and where available, the object marker) on the verb. In placing demonstratives on such a continuum, Van der Wal (2010) makes reference to Givón's (1983) scale of phonological weight in encoding referents. She explains how doubled demonstratives, which have more phonological content, are used for referents that are less accessible than the ones referred to by pronominal demonstratives, which have less phonological weight.

However, a 'zero-anaphora' slot should be added to the right most end of the scale, as Van der Wal (2010) states herself that objects can be completely omitted when clear from context.

Based on this scale, Van der Wal (2010) sets out to explore the link between the use of demonstratives and the factors which influence the accessibility of a referent such as the recency of a referent's mention, the number of times it has been mentioned, or the inherent importance of the referent in the story, determining also its activation status (cf. Dooley's 2007 notion of discourse topic).

Van der Wal starts by examining pronominal demonstratives. In her study of Makhuwa narratives she finds pronominal demonstratives are found mostly in two environments; when there is a shift of topic, and after an episode boundary. In the case of topic shift, the use of demonstratives seems to help with 'retrieving a less accessible

referent' (2010: 196). This would be a referent which is not as easily accessible at that point of the narration. Van der Wal notes, however, that when trying to make the opposite prediction, the result is not as straightforward. This means that although it is true that very often a pronominal demonstrative is used in a topic shift, it is not the case that every time a topic shift occurs, a demonstrative is used. One of the questions that arises from this study is therefore whether we can determine when overt marking of topic shift with a demonstrative is more likely to occur.

Another environment described by Van der Wal where pronominal demonstratives are often found is at an episode boundary, frequently together with a locative or temporal demonstrative (*vale* or *vano* respectively). Consider Van der Wal's example in (33). The 'Hare' referent is the topic and subject of the immediately preceding context, as it is in (33a); the last sentence of the episode. In this preceding context he was once referred to by his name, and by the subject agreement on the verb in the rest of the sentences. (33b) is the start of a new episode (how Hare gets the oranges). The topic is still Hare, and yet a pronominal demonstrative is used.

(33) a. *o-n-aá-wéha atthú a-n-ttótt-átsá errańcá iye*
SM1-PRS.CJ-OM2-see 2.people 2-PRS-pick-PLUR.REL 10.oranges 10.DEM.III
'He sees people picking those oranges,'

b. *ólé oo-pácérá w-aá-rúwána*
1.DEM.III SM1.PRF.DJ-begin 15-OM2-insult
'then he began to insult them,'

c. *o-h-aá-rúwána o-h-aá-rúwána ...*
SM1-PRF.DJ-OM2-insult SM1-PRF.DJ-OM2-insult
'he insulted and insulted them...'

(Van der Wal 2010:199)

In Van der Wal's view, this use of the pronominal demonstratives can be explained in terms of the Accessibility Theory as well as its use in topic shift:

> "One could look at this from two slightly different perspectives. On the one hand, if a paragraph or larger episode is closed, it becomes more dif-

ficult to retrieve the referent, which results in a lower accessibility and hence a lower referential marker (i.e., a demonstrative and not just the subject marker). On the other hand, more from the perspective of the listener, if a lower referential marker is used for a referent with a higher accessibility, then the conclusion must be drawn that this is the start of a new paragraph or episode. By playing with the different referential expressions for different values of accessibility, the text structure is encoded as well. Demonstratives thus not only help to track the referent, but also structure the narrative" (Van der Wal 2010:199).

This point is particularly interesting for the study of Makhuwa-Meeto as the use of the demonstratives is contrasted with the use of the subject marker. Because in Makhuwa-Meeto subject marking can be (and quite often is) omitted by the abundant use of the narrative tense, future research into the tracking of participants in subject position would be interesting to see whether differences emerge. For a discussion of referent tracking patterns more generally see Chapter 7.

Van der Wal (2010) then moves onto doubled demonstratives. The accessibility hierarchy for Makhuwa as formulated in (8) predicts that they are used for referents that are even less accessible than the ones referred to by pronominal demonstratives.

In the Makhuwa narratives studied by Van der Wal (2010), doubled demonstratives are found mostly in the following contexts: when reactivating a referent that has not been mentioned for some time; in tail-head linking; and at episode boundaries.

A discourse structure is referred to as tail-head linking when 'a part (usually the last – the tail) of the previous sentence is repeated in the immediately following sentence' (Van der Wal 2010: 201), as in example (34). In the last part of sentence (34a) a woman is introduced into the story, and repeated immediately after in the next sentence (34b). In this sentence the doubled demonstrative is used to refer to the woman as the newly established topic.

(34) a. *o-ḿ-phwánya* *nthíyáná* *m-motsá*
1SM.PERF.DJ-1-meet 1.woman 1-one

‘he met a woman’

b. *ólé* *nthíyán’* *uule* *kh-oóthá* *aa-páh’*
1.DEM.III 1.woman 1.DEM.III NEG.1SM.IMPF-lie 1SM.IMPF-light
ólumweńku
14.world
‘this woman didn’t just lie, she set the world on fire!’

(Van der Wal 2010: 202)

If this use of the double demonstrative is considered under the Accessibility theory, one could say that the newly introduced referent is indeed not very accessible yet as it is a new topic and it has not been mentioned in the previous discourse apart from at the very end of the preceding sentence. However, what remains to be explained is why a double demonstrative would be preferred rather than a simple adnominal or a pronominal demonstrative.

(Nicolle 2007: 129) characterises tail-head linking as ‘indicating a conceptual boundary between the two clauses, indicating a new development in the narrative’. Van der Wal notes that this is often the case in Makhuwa as well; a new part of the story starts with a tail-head link, however, the reason why a double demonstrative is used sometimes (but not always) remains unclear. Diessel (1999) confirms the cross-linguistic use of demonstratives in tail-head links, explaining that they are used “to establish major discourse participants in the universe of discourse” (Diessel 1999: 98). Furthermore, Van der Wal also notes that double demonstratives are used in tail-heading linking to introduce referents which at some point in the story will play an important role. Therefore the use of these demonstratives does not just signal the low accessibility of the referent, but makes the referent more accessible for future narration. This was noted also by Gernsbacher (1989) who found that the lower the accessibility is of the referential expression used, the more enhanced the referent will become. Double demonstratives therefore also contribute to the future accessibility status of a referent. This could be linked to the concept of subsequent importance discussed in Chapter 4 (see Section 4.3.2).

Lastly, double demonstratives, in the same way as pronominal demonstratives, can

be found at episode boundaries. However, the reason for choosing one type of demonstrative over the other is not clear.

In conclusion, Makhuwa demonstratives of series III are mostly used for anaphoric deixis, helping the addressee to identify a less accessible referent as formulated in Accessibility Theory (Ariel 2004). The demonstratives also play an important role in the structuring of the text through marking episode boundaries. In addition, double demonstratives seem to increase the accessibility of the referent for future discourse. Van der Wal concludes by calling for further research and by suggesting that the fact that not all instances fit in could point to an even wider pragmatic use. One last piece of information from Van der Wal's analysis relevant for this study is on locative demonstratives, as they display more variety in their pragmatic use. In studying the occurrence of locative demonstratives, Van der Wal notes that in Makhuwa narratives two locative demonstratives are commonly found in discourse functions: the demonstratives *vano* and *vale*. This appears to be the case also in the texts recorded in Makhuwa Meeto and will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

> "The demonstratives *vano* and *vale* may indicate an episode boundary, or merely the beginning of what Ariel (1990) refers to as a pragmatic paragraph. Such a boundary may indicate a change in perspective or location, while not starting a completely new episode in the story. Like this, the demonstratives also have the effect of temporally ordering the story, as in English 'and then..., and then...'. In this function, *vano* and *vale* occur most often sentence-initially." (Van der Wal 2010: page)

Pronominal demonstratives often also occur at episode boundaries and so *vano* and *vale* are often found together with pronominal demonstratives, such as in example (35).

(35) *hw-ír-áka* *válé* *ólé* *aá válé* *piípi*
NARR-say-DUR 16.DEM.III 1.DEM.III aa 16.DEM.III grandma
o-nró-mal-ela *tsayí?*
SM1-FUT-finish-appl how
'and she then said: well, grandma, how will she end up?' (Van der Wal 2010:209)

In this example the use of *válé ólé* in the first line shows the use of both locative demonstratives and pronominal demonstratives in marking an episode boundary, here the start of a new episode. The locative demonstrative *válé* in the second line is used to get the attention of the listener/addresee. As Van der Wal (2010) explains this is another use of locative demonstratives and it often occurs in direct speech.

Van der Wal concludes her study of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives by confirming the relation between the use of demonstratives and the accessibility of referents as formulated for example in Accessibility Theory. As a conclusion, Van der Wal's final remark points to the importance of further study of this topic and research such as the present study.

> "Since the distribution suggests an ongoing process of replacing the pronoun by the demonstrative, more diachronic research may further reveal the relation between this broader use of the demonstrative and the use of the personal pronoun and the subject and object markers" (Van der Wal 2010: 211).

5.6 Summary

To summarise, in this chapter, the most relevant traits of Makhuwa grammar needed for the further discussion are presented, focusing mostly on the paradigm of referring expressions which can occur in texts. These include lexical nouns, subject and object markers and personal, demonstrative and also possessive pronouns. Certain structures such as double object constructions or object ellipsis are also included as they interact with the referencing of objects in discourse. In the second part of the chapter, relevant research which has already been carried out on Makhuwa discourse is discussed. Special emphasis was given to Van der Wal's (2010) study of Makhuwa demonstratives in discourse, as it considers some of the theories used in this study (e.g. Chafe's 1994 concept of activation status) and therefore reveals the importance of discourse in understanding elements of the Makhuwa grammar.

To summarize, chapters 7-10 will look at the different ways in which participants are referenced in Makhuwa texts in light of the the following patterns discussed here:

- the (non)occurence of SM, which is considered obligatory but is absent in several verb forms in the recorded texts
- the use of class 1/2 OMs in possible combination with full NPs, pronouns or used on anaphorically with no corresponding NP
- the use of class 1/2 OMs for indefinite referents attested in other varieties
- the way participants are expressed in double object constructions (with OMs, pronouns and full NPs)
- the use of personal pronouns for emphasis
- the discourse function of demonstratives as described by Van der Wal (2010)
- the use of possessives to denote subjects in narrative forms
- instances of object ellipsis

In the next chapter, a parallel overview is presented for Swahili.

Chapter 6

Swahili grammatical background

6.1 Introduction

Similarly to what has been discussed for Makhuwa, the present chapter presents an overview of relevant aspects of Swahili grammar to provide some background for the following discussion. For a more complete description of Swahili grammar see Krifka (1995) and Schadeberg (1992), from which most of the terminology in this section is taken, or Ashton (1944), amongst others. Firstly, an inventory of referring expressions, parallel to the Makhuwa one is given, followed by a number of argument structure related issues. The final part of this chapter summarises the most important work done on Swahili discourse.

6.2 Referring expressions

Just as for Makhuwa, in order to explore the link between object marking and discourse, the wider context of strategies used to refer to participants in narratives needs to be described for Swahili. The following sections examine lexical nouns, subject and object marking as well as pronoun paradigms.

6.2.1 Lexical nouns

As with other Bantu languages, the form and behaviour of lexical nouns stem from their division into noun classes in Swahili. The language has 15 noun classes, as exemplified in Table 6.1.

Noun class	Noun class prefix	noun example	translation
1	mu- / m- / mw-	mtoto	child
2	wa-	watoto	children
3	mu- / m- / mw-	mnazi	coconut tree
4	mi-	minazi	coconut trees
5	ji-	jicho	eye
6	ma-	macho	eyes
7	ki-	kitanda	bed
8	vi-	vitanda	beds
9	n-	ndizi	banana
10	n-	ndizi	bananas
11	u-	ugonjwa	disease
15	ku-	kufika	to arrive
16	pa-	pahali	place
17	ku-	kuzimu	where spirits are, the other world
18	mu- / m- / mw-	mahali	place

Table 6.1: Swahili noun class system (adapted from Schadeberg 1992)

The noun class prefixes can change form depending on the stem of the noun. In classes 1, 3 and 18, the prefix becomes *m-* in front of stem-initial consonants and *mw-* in front of stem vowels. Class 7/8 *ki-/vi-* become *ch-/vy-* in front of stem-initial vowels except /i/. The nasal element in class 9/10 takes on different forms depending on the type of consonant and becomes *ny-* in front of stem-initial vowels. For an overview of phonological changes in noun class prefixes, see Schadeberg (1992: 14-15).

The first 10 noun classes can be paired according to their singular and plural forms. Class 11 contains mostly mass nouns, but some count nouns also belong to this class and can take the plural in class 10 or 6, such as *u-kuni/kuni* (class 11/10) ‘stick of fire-

wood/firewood' or *u-gonjwa/ma-gonjwa* (class 11/6) 'disease(s)' (Schadeberg 1992: 15). Classes 16-18 express locative meanings. On a formal level they differ in their distinctive agreement pattern, and on a semantic level they can be characterised in the following way: class 16 (*pa-*) indicating proximity, class 17 (*ku-*) indicating distance, class 18 (*mu-*) indicating 'withinness' or inessive meanings (Schadeberg 1992: 15). Among the very few nouns inherent to these classes, the most commonly cited is the noun for 'place/location' *mahali* (Ashton 1944, Schadeberg 1992). More frequently, nouns might fall into these classes when combined with the locative suffix *-ni* (e.g. *bahari-ni* 'at the sea').

The association to a noun class controls the agreement on other nominal elements, as illustrated by the following example. In (1), the class 2 noun controls agreement in class on the possessor, numeral, preposition, adjective and wh-word:

(1) *Wa-tu w-angu wa-wili w-a kwanza wa-zuri wa-pi?*
2-people 2-POSS.1SG 2-two 2-CONN first 2-good 2-which
'Which first two good people of mine?'

(Rugemalira 2007: 147)

Contini-Morava (1994) summarises the inconclusive debate on the semantic nature of Swahili noun classes. Attempts to semantically characterise each noun class (e.g. Zawawi 1979) seem to have too many counterexamples to form exact descriptions. Contini-Morava's own research concludes that: "The Swahili noun classes have differing degrees of internal coherence in their semantic structure" (Contini-Morava 1994). Contini-Morava (1994) then presents a detailed analysis of the semantic network for some of the classes, including for example the characterisation of class 3 as 'entities with vitality (neither human nor prototypically animal)' (Contini-Morava 1994). Some generally accepted principles include considering class 1/2 as containing mostly humans or class 9/10 being used for loanwords (Contini-Morava 1994). Aside from their inherent members, some noun classes are said to be used to derive new meaning of nouns, such as class 7/8 for diminutive; e.g. kimeza 'small table' from meza (Mohamed 2001). This seems to be shifting in recent years as adding the prefixes *ki-/vi-*

can yield different semantic shifts.

(2) *Ni-li-ki-ona* *ki-jua njia-ni.*
SM1SG-PST-OM7-feel 7-sun 9.way-LOC
'I experienced an excessive burning sun during the journey.'

(Mohamed 2001: 43)

In example (2) the noun *kijua* is derived from the noun *jua* 'sun' originally belonging to class 5. The *ki-* prefix gives it an augmentative intensifying reading rather than a diminutive one (Mohamed 2001). A 'pejorative' meaning associated with the prefix *ki-* has also been documented (Gysels 1992: 54, Fabian et al. 1990: 41 - for a Swahili based creole).[1]

6.2.1.1 Subject markers

Just as in Makhuwa, in Swahili the subject is marked on the verb with a subject marker determined by the noun class of the nominal. Note that Class 11 does not control any agreement but takes class 3 agreement instead (Schadeberg 1992).

Many sources consider subject marking in Swahili obligatory in most contexts with the exception of few tenses. This is true both when the overt NP co-occurs with the SM and when the overt NP is not present, in which case the SM acquires an anaphoric function (Deen 2002, Krifka 1995). An environment where the SM does not occur is the habitual *hu-* (Krifka 1995: 1399). In example (3) the subject Juma is not marked on the verb *kula* 'to eat' which is in the habitual tense, expressed by the prefix *hu-*.

(3) *Juma* *hu-la*
1.Juma HAB–eat
'Juma (habitually) eats.' (Ud Deen 2002:28)

A footnote in Seidl and Dimitriadis' (1997) work also mentions that another instance where the SM is sometimes left out is the narrative tense *-ka* when the subject is highly

[1]The link between a diminutive and pejorative meaning has been observed for Sheng where the semantic connection is explained as follows: "The use of the diminutive may also be pejorative, especially when used against things that are not physically tiny but are being diminished for the specific purpose of deflating their importance in the speaker's view" (Bosire 2008: 57).

Participant/Noun class	Subject marker
1SG	ni-
2SG	u-
1PL	tu-
2PL	m-
1	a-
2	wa-
3	u-
4	i-
5	li-
6	ya-
7	ki-
8	vi-
9	i-
10	zi-
11	u-
15	ku-
16	pa-
17	ku-
18	mu-

Table 6.2: Swahili subject marking

salient - this is reported by Nicolle (personal correspondence cited in Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997: 385) but no example or further explanation is provided. If this is the case, this pattern would point to the importance of further research on the link between discourse and verbal markers.

Ud Deen (2002), in his study of Nairobi Swahili, notes how this variety distinguishes only animacy when it comes to SMs. For an animate noun, class 1/2 SMs are used, but for the other classes, class 9 SM *i-* (for singular) and class 10 SM *zi-* (for plural) are used regardless of the noun class. Aside from this already reduced paradigm of subject marking, speakers of this variety also occasionally omit the SM altogether, as in example (4). What is relevant for our study is the connection of this phenomenon to discourse. "The discourse context for this omission appears to be in cases when the subject is extremely salient, and when the topic and the subject are co-referent[ial]" (Ud Deen 2002: 22). This appears to have certain parallels in the omission of OMs as discussed in Section 8.2.

(4) Ø *ta–ku–chuna*
FUT–OM2SG–pinch
'(I) will pinch you'

(Ud Deen 2002: 58)

Discussing further issues related to subject marking is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important to remember there are other complexities to this phenomenon which can interact with referent tracking. Conjoined NPs can be marked on the verb in various ways and subject inversions can affect the choice of the element which gets marked on the verb with an SM. Both constructions can therefore influence in particular ways how a participant is referred to. For a study of the different strategies used to resolve verbal agreement with conjoined NPs in Swahili, see Marten (2000), and for a typology of subject inversions which include references to Swahili, see Marten & van der Wal (2014).

6.2.2 Object markers

Swahili has a complex paradigm of object marking with a different object marker corresponding to each individual noun class (as is typical of Bantu languages). Object markers can be used anaphorically, therefore being one of the most important ways in which one can refer back to an object. In addition, object markers can co-occur with the noun they correspond to, as we will see further in this section.

For almost all classes, the object marker is identical to the subject marker with the exception of class 1 and, among participants, second person plural. The form of each object marker is illustrated in Table 6.3.

Participant/Noun class	Noun class prefix	Subject marker	Object marker
1SG	-	ni-	-ni-
2SG	-	u-	-ku-
1PL	-	tu-	-tu-
2PL	-	m-	-wa-/-ku- (. . . ni)
1	mu-	a-	-m(u)-
2	wa-	wa-	-wa-
3	mu-	u-	-u-
4	mi-	i-	-i-
5	ji-	li-	-li-
6	ma-	ya-	-ya-
7	ki-	ki-	-ki-
8	vi-	vi-	-vi-
9	n-	i-	-i-
10	n-	zi-	-zi-
11	u	u-	-u-
15	ku-	ku-	-ku-
16	pa-	pa-	-pa-
17	ku-	ku-	-ku-
18	mu-	mu-	-mu-

Table 6.3: Swahili object markers

In order to investigate the role of object marking in discourse, and especially in referring to and tracking of participants, a summary of the anaphoric function of OMs is presented below.

The instances where an OM is used anaphorically are often used as evidence for the 'pronominal analysis' of OMs. Staying away from the pronoun vs. agreement discussion (which has been already presented in section 3.3.2) this section will instead focus on the discourse factors under which the anaphoric use of an OM occurs. Seidl and Dimitriadis (1997) present one of the few existing analysis of the discourse function of OMs. Among other aspects, they also look at the anaphoric use of object marking. Below the example discussed in Chapter 4 is repeated, where an OM denotes an argument not expressed by a full NP (therefore illustrating its anaphoric use).

(5) a. *Y-ule m-tu a-li-kataa ku-funuliwa.*
DEMIII 1-man SM1-PST-refuse INF-uncovered
'That man refused to show his face.'

b. *Albert a-li-m-sikia a-ki-lia.*
1.Albert SM1-PST-OM1-hear SM1-SIT-cry
'Albert heard him crying.'

(Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997: 375)

In their paper Seidl and Dimitriadis are mostly concerned with instances where an OM can co-occur with a full NP. However, in their findings they also make several observations on the anaphoric use of OMs. Their methodology is to code the referents in the written texts for their information status (after Prince 1992) dividing them into Hearer-Old/Hearer-New and Discourse-Old/Discourse-New. Specifically on the anaphoric use of OM they conclude: '. . . a non-overt NP object seems to be restricted to Evoked objects' (Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997: 380). In their taxonomy Evoked referents are both Hearer-Old and Discourse-Old. This means that an Evoked referent is already familiar to the hearer and has been mentioned in the previous discourse; as is the case in (14), where the referent *yule mtu* is evoked in the second clause.

Wald (1979), who also studies the use of OM in discourse, presents their anaphoric use as one of the 'frames' (i.e. structures) in which an OM can occur (1979: 508).

Anaphora is part of the frame where the OM refers to an NP preceding the verb outside of the sentence (this frame also includes the reference to NPs immediately preceding the verb in left dislocation). His example of the anaphoric use of an OM is presented below.

(6) *yu-le bibi a-ki-ja a-ki-mw-angalia*
1-DEMIII 1.woman SM1-SIT-come SM1-SIT-OM1-look.for
'the woman came looking for him' (Wald 1979: 509)

Therefore, Wald (1979) and Seidl and Dimitriadis (1997) both agree on the anaphoric use of OMs for previously mentioned objects. Wald (1979) however adds that this is particularly common for animate objects but less so for inanimates. Most importantly, the anaphoric object marking is not obligatory for either semantic group. But it remains unclear how the rest of the already mentioned objects in Wald's (1979) texts are referred to if not by OM, as no mention is made of other referring expressions.

Beside the anaphoric function of OMs, another aspect relevant for discourse is their co-occurrence with object nouns (i.e. full NPs). The object marker can co-occur with the full noun phrase but a comprehensive study of the precise circumstances under which this occurs has not been conducted to date. It has often been noted that proper names and animates are object-marked more frequently than others (Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997, Krifka 1995, Wald 1979), and this is even considered obligatory for some speakers or dialects (Schadeberg 1992, Riedel 2009). Riedel (2009) discusses this point, concluding that speakers from mainland Tanzania do not tend to object-mark non-specific humans. Thus example (7) from mainland Tanzania shows an instances where a non-specific human referent *mtoto* 'a child' is not object marked on the verb:

(7) *Ni-li-ona mtoto.*
SM1SG-PST-see 1.child
'I saw a child.' (Riedel 2009: 49)

For Kiunguja speakers, on the other hand, OMs are obligatory for both specific and non-specific humans. Some collective plural nouns (especially if used in a derogatory

way) seem to be an exception to this pattern, as most Swahili speakers will consider their occurrence without a corresponding OM acceptable despite their animacy, as in (8).

(8) *Ni-li-ona ma-askari.*
SM1SG-PST-see 6-soldier
'I saw soldiers.' (Riedel 2009: 50)

Other instances where OMs have been noted to be compulsory also seem to be related to the category of animates. Schadeberg (1992) points out that object marking is necessary with the verbs *-pa* 'give' and *-ambia* 'tell'. As both of these verbs are ditransitive and are likely to have a animate indirect object, this rule could be linked to the above mentioned tendency to object mark animates. Ashton (1944) further notes that an OM is generally used with nominal objects of classes 1 and 2 when followed by a possessive pronoun. From her examples in (9) it is hard to see how the possessive pronoun plays a role in this, as the factor which differentiates the two examples is indeed one of animacy (while the possessive pronoun is present in both and as a consequence does not seem to affect the occurrence of the OM). She might possibly be referring to definite animates being object-marked more frequently in comparison to definite inanimates.

(9) a. *U-me-mw-ona m-pishi w-angu?*
SM2SG-PRF-OM1-see 1-cook 1-POSS1SG
'Have you seen my cook?'

b. *U-me-ona kisu ch-angu?*
SM2SG-PRF-see 7.knife 7-POSS1SG
'Have you seen my knife?' (Ashton 1944: 55)

More generally, the (non-)occurrence of an object marker is considered to be optional and depends on a number of factors such as definiteness and specificity (Duranti 1979). Sometimes combinations of these features are formulated as decisive when it comes to object marking. Krifka (1995) notes that the occurrence of an OM with an overt NP is common with animates, especially likely with definite animates and only occa-

sionally with definite inanimates (hence the interpretation of Ashton's example above). Woolford (1999) links the OM co-occurring with an overt NP with definiteness, referentiality, or specificity, again, especially of animates. When occurring with inanimate NPs, Woolford (1999) associates a different feature with the OM, namely focus. Different sets of features associated with the OM are explained under the Exclusion Principle approach, where proposed syntactic principles restrict the features that VP-internal objects can have (see Woolford 1999: 204).

Wald (1979) investigates the relationship between animacy, definiteness and OMs in constructions where the OM co-occurs with an NP. He proposes that since animates tend to be definite in discourse, the use of OMs for definite objects has over time spread to indefinite animates, meaning that animate objects are generally marked in this way. And at the same time, as inanimates tend to be indefinite (as they do not stay in the discourse as long), object marking has over time decreased for inanimates generally. A statistical analysis of objects in texts Wald (1979) collected from speakers of Mombasa Swahili shows that in that dialect animacy has a bigger effect on lexical objects which get object marked than definiteness. As Wald's (1979) study is of particular relevance to the present study it will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.2.4.3 of this chapter.

The presence of both an object marker and a full NP has also been linked to discourse in a few examples. Bearth (2003) analyses the object marker in the example (10) as a sign that the referent of the object *kitabu* 'book' is already established as a discourse topic.

(10) *M-toto a-na-ki-soma ki-tabu*
1-child sm1-prs-om7-read 7-book
'The child is reading that book.' (Bearth 2003: 123)

Similarly, Schadeberg (1992) refers to the OM as being 'used to give some kind of saliency to an expressed object' (1992: 23). This view is further supported by others such as Ashton (1944) or Amidu (2006). Ashton (1944) describes the condition under which an OM co-occurs with the full NP in terms of direction of emphasis: "In statements or questions in which attention is directed to the object rather than to the

action, the object prefix is used as well as the noun" (Ashton 1944: 45). However, she also notes that: "As the degree of definiteness to be conveyed is entirely dependent on the context, and is further expressed by tone and gesture, the above principles must be regarded as very general in scope (...)" (Ashton 1944: 45). According to Ashton, in the examples in (11), the object referent *chakula* 'food' co-occurs with the corresponding NP as there is a special focus on 'food' rather than on the event of 'bringing something'.

(11) a. *Hamisi a-me-ki-leta chakula*
1.Hamisi SM1-PRF-OM7-bring 7.food
'Hamisi has brought the food (which you asked for).'

b. *U-me-ki-leta chakula?*
SM2SG-PRF-OM7-bring 7.food
'Have you brought the food (which I asked you to bring)?'

(Ashton 1944: 45)

It is clear from the preceding discussion that even though tendencies have been discovered for the use of OMs in Swahili, we are far from fully understanding the conditions of its occurrence. Moreover, a link to other referring expressions which play a part in the way in which objects are tracked is mostly missing from existing studies.

6.2.2.1 Personal pronouns

Independent personal pronouns in Swahili are not widely used, as the relevant referent (subject/object) is often expressed by subject and object markers on the verb. However, they do exist and their use has been often connected with various discourse functions, making it highly relevant for the present discussion. Thus, in this section the personal pronoun paradigms are presented with a brief overview of their known use in discourse.

Schadeberg (1992: 17) describes the paradigm of Swahili pronouns in terms of their bound forms (different from the subject and object markers) and free forms. Bound pronominal forms exist for participants and for class 1 and 2.

These forms are used in a number of environments such as with the conjunction na 'with' to form nami 'with me', nawe 'with you' etc.; or with the emphatic copula ndi-

1SG	-mi	1PL	-si
2SG	-we	2PL	-nyi
Class 1	-ye	Class 2	-o

Table 6.4: Bound pronoun forms

to form ndiye 'it is (s)he' etc. For all other classes, the referential concord is used in these instances formed by the class prefix and the 'o of reference' (e.g. class 8 *vi+o* > *vyo* resulting in *ndi-vyo*).

As for free standing pronouns, Schadeberg describes them as reduplicated bound forms, with the exception of the irregular form for class 2 which is made up of the simple class prefix (*wa-*) followed by the referential *-o* (identical to the bound form).

1SG	mimi	1PL	sisi
2SG	wewe	2PL	nyinyi
Class 1	yeye	Class 2	wao

Table 6.5: Free-standing pronouns

Ud Deen (2002) notes that the personal free standing pronoun for class 2 is *hawa* in Nairobi Swahili - resembling the demonstrative form for this class. Schadeberg also notes the existence of a free pronoun for class 8 formed in the same way as that of class 2 (i.e. *vivyo*).

There is another set of free standing pronouns which Schadeberg labels 'alternative participant forms'. These are made up of the bound form followed by *-e*: as in *mie/wee/sie/nyie*. Loogman (1965) refers to this last set of pronouns, which exist only for participants, as "(...) special forms – used only in particular constructions" (Loogman 1965: 81). He claims that these forms (spelled with an additional *-y-*: *miye*, *weye*, etc.) are used mostly to signal a certain familiarity/affection/contempt towards the addressee (Loogman 1965). However, a more likely explanation of the difference among these two sets of free standing pronouns is given in Russell's (1986) work on Swahili as a lingua franca and national language within a certain historical con-

text. Russell explains how Standard Swahili was based on Steere's (1906) Handbook. Steere's grammar, used for the standardization of Swahili at the time, shows evidence of phonological and morphological variations because it was based on more than one variety spoken in Zanzibar.[2]

> "The personal pronoun pairs miye/mimi and weye/wewe were obviously to some extent in variation in Zanzibar speech (the tellers of the folktales written down by Steere were all Zanzibaris) as they are in much coastal and inland speech today; it was the more common mimi and wewe which were selected for the Handbook" (Russell 1986: 342-343).

This is supported by the fact that Ashton (1944), whose grammar is still now often used as main reference for Standard Swahili, mentions only the free-standing pronoun paradigm exemplified in Table 3, as did other authors of Swahili grammars in the past (e.g. Polomé 1967). No free pronoun forms exist for non-animate NPs (Krifka 1995).

Ashton (1944) also gives a summary of the function of personal pronouns. She talks about the use of these pronouns mostly for emphasis when used in combination with a subject or object marker. See her examples below. In (12a) the personal pronoun *mimi* for first person singular is used as well as the SM on the verb resulting in an emphatic meaning: 'as for me ...'. Similarly, in (12b) the third person singular pronoun *yeye* co-occurs with the OM *mw-* on the verb producing extra emphasis on the referent.

(12) a. *Mimi* *ni-me-kwisha*
1SG.PRON SM1SG-PRF-end
'As for me, I have finished.'

b. *Ni-li-mw-ona* *yeye* *na* *Hamisi* *pia.*
SM1SG-PST-OM1-see 1.PRON and 1.Hamisi too
'I saw both him and Hamisi.' (Ashton 1944: 44)

Krifka (1995) also comments on the rare use of free pronouns reserved for excep-

[2]Standard Swahili (SS) "was a distillation of features to be found in the highly variable lingua franca used in the commercial centre of Zanzibar Town and along the mainland trade routes. It is reasonable to assume not only that stereotyped features of Zanzibar L1 usage were among the components of this lingua franca but also that its lexis in particular was enriched by contributions from inland Bantu languages" (Russell 1986: 342) and not simply based on the 'Zanzibari dialect'.

tional cases of emphasis. Similarly Wald (1979), in his discussion of Swahili OMs, he touches upon the topic of personal pronouns, suggesting that personal pronouns are often optional and have a 'focus purpose' in discourse. In example (13) the focus on first person singular is achieved by the use of the personal pronoun mimi as well as the OM *-ni-* in the verb.

(13) *We* *hu-ni-shind-i* *mimi*
2SG.PRON SM2SG.NEG-OM1SG-beat-NEG 1SG.PRON
'You can't beat ME!' (Wald 1979: 323)

Finally, there is another form of independent pronoun which exists for class 3 onwards. Ashton (1947: 304) and Polomé (1967: 106) talk of the category of 'impersonal pronouns' which have a 'simple' form and a 'reference' one. The simple impersonal pronoun is formed by reduplicating the subject marker for the respective class (therefore *vi-vi* for class 8, *li-li* for class 6, etc.). Both authors note that this form appears in certain set phrases (14) or in conjunction with a demonstrative to emphasize identity (15) (Polomé 1967: 105). In example (14) such a pronoun appears corresponding to the implied referent *maneno* 'words' of class 6. The class 6 subject marker *ya-* is reduplicated to form the independent pronoun *yaya*.

(14) *Tu-si-andik-e* *yaya* *kwa yaya*
OM1PL-NEG-write-NEG.IMP 6.PRON for 6.PRON
'Don't let us write the same (words) over and over again.'

(Ashton 1944: 305)

In (15) the independent pronoun for class 8 is formed in the same way yielding *vivi* and is combined with the type I demonstrative for the same class *hivi*.

(15) *(vitu)* *vivi* *hivi*
(8.thing) 8.PRON 8.DEMI
'these very same things' (Polomé 1967: 105)

This set of pronouns was also noted by Schadeberg (1992) who mentions that they are rarely used, except in the formation of emphatic demonstratives. His example is

indeed almost identical as the above mentioned phrase (14) found in Ashton (1944).

(16) *Maneno yaya kwa yaya*
6.word 6.PRON for 6.PRON
'the same words over and over again' (Schadeberg 1992: 18)

The reference form (more common according to Polomé and Ashton but not mentioned by Schadeberg) is a combination of the subject prefix and the so-called 'o of reference' (therefore *vi-vyo* for class 8, *li-lo* for class 5, etc.).

(17) *Li-si-lo mkoma hu-ji-koma lilo.*
SM5-NEG-REL5 1.one.who.ends HAB-REFL-end 5.PRON.REFR
'(the matter) which has no one to end it, ends itself of itself.'

(Ashton, 1944: 305)

Example (17) demonstrates the use of this pronominal reference form corresponding to class 5 – referring to the implied subject *jambo* 'matter'- in a proverb.

6.2.2.2 Demonstratives

Swahili exhibits the three-way system of demonstratives common in Bantu languages, similarly to Makhuwa. The first set of demonstratives is usually described as the 'proximity form' (DEM I) therefore referring to something close to the speaker. DEM II or the 'non-proximity' form describes something in the distance. Krifka notes that evidence has been found showing that these two sets of demonstratives are in fact based on a 'near speaker' vs. 'near hearer' distinction (Krifka 1995). The third set is sometimes called 'referential' demonstratives (Polomé 1967: 107) or 'text-deictic' (Krifka 1995: 1398) and it is used to refer to something already mentioned in discourse.
The morphological structure of the three demonstrative forms is described by Schadeberg (1992) as follows:

(18) a. proximity: hV-Cd e.g. *hizi*
b. non-proximity Cd-le e.g. *zile*
c. referential: hV-Cd-o e.g. *hizo* (Schadeberg 1992: 18)

Here, 'Cd' stands for concord and 'V' for vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the following Cd. Concords are morphological forms specific to each noun class which combine with other element to form for example demonstrative pronouns - as shown above[3].

Ashton (1944), in addition to the paradigm of three sets of demonstratives, notes

[3]Schadeberg (1992) interestingly labels DEMIII as 'non-proximity' and DEMII as 'referential'. In this study, however, we maintain the traditional labelling which is consistent with the Makhuwa one and used by others for Swahili (Ashton, Krifka,Polomé).

	DEM I (proximity)	DEM II (non-proximity)	DEM III (reference)
1	huyu	huyo	yule
2	hawa	hao	wale
3	huu	huo	ule
4	hii	hiyo	ile
5	hili	hilo	lile
6	haya	hayo	yale
7	hiki	hicho	kile
8	hivi	hivyo	vile
9	hii	hiyo	ile
10	hizi	hizo	zile
11	huu	huo	ule
15	huku	huko	kule
16	hapa	hapo	pale
17	huku	huko	kule
18	humu	humo	mle

Table 6.6: Swahili demonstratives

also the occurrence of 'emphatic demonstratives'. Here, just as with impersonal pronouns, we find a simple form and a reference form. The first one is composed by the simple impersonal pronoun and the DEM I of the respective class (therefore, for example *uu huu* for class 3, etc.). The reference emphatic pronoun is then in turn formed by the DEM III and the reference form of the impersonal pronoun (as an example: for class 3 this would be *uo huo*). In example (19) an instance of emphatic demonstrative is presented, referring to the noun neno 'word' of class 5. The corresponding emphatic demonstrative takes the shape *lili hili*.

(19) *Na yeye, katika ku-ugua kw-ake, neno l-ake*
and 3SG.PRON in INF-be.ill 15-POSS.3SG 5.word 5-POSS3SG
lili hili, Binti Hamadi.
5.PRON.REF 5.DEMI Binti Hamadi
'And he throughout his illness was always calling out "Binti Hamadi"
(Lit. his word the very same.) (Ashton, 1944: 306)

Schadeberg (1992) also discusses the same form of emphatic ('reduplicated') demonstratives, describing the morphological formula as follows:

(20) a. proximity: Cd-Cd hV-Cd e.g. *zizi hizi*
b. non-proximity: Cd Cd-le e.g. *zi zile*
c. referential: Cd-Cd-o hV-Cd-o e.g. *zizo hizo* (Schadeberg 1992: 18)

Moreover, it has been observed (Ashton 1944, Schadeberg 1992) that any of the simple demonstratives (DEM I, II and III) can be reduplicated to yield a very similar meaning as emphatic demonstratives (*hii hii*, *kile kile*, etc.).

Okoth Okombo & Habwe (2007) study the deictic function of the three types of Swahili demonstratives in relation to how distal or proximal the object of reference is from the speaker and hearer. According to their research, demonstratives are also sometimes used to refer to elements of texts, in which case they have a cohesive function. Okombo and Habwe (2007) also discuss in their paper how in addition to this, Swahili demonstratives (especially the spatial demonstratives *hapa* and *kule*) can be

used for specific pragmatic purposes in everyday conversations. This includes strategic use of spatial demonstratives for distance manipulation, as well as using referential demonstratives to express metaphorical distance (for example in terms of emotions).

As for the position of demonstratives in the noun phrase, this seems to be fixed to a certain extent, as discussed by Rugemalira (2007). In his work on the syntactic positions and possible variations of the order of elements in the Swahili noun phrase, he comes to the following conclusion:

> "(...) the possessive (...) is the determiner that immediately follows the noun. The demonstrative follows after the possessive. However in order to resolve the apparent competition for determiner status, Swahili also allows the demonstrative to appear before the head noun' (Rugemalira 2007: 142).

Consequently, both of the following options are possible (including the corresponding variants without the possessive pronoun). In (21a) the demonstrative follows the noun and the possessive, while in (21b) it precedes the same noun phrase without changing the meaning.

(21) a. *mtu w-angu yule*
1.person 1-POSS1SG 1.DEMIII
'that person of mine'

b. *yule mtu w-angu*
1.DEMIII 1.person 1-POSS1SG
'that person of mine' (Rugemalira 2007: 142)

Krifka (1995) also notes that demonstratives can precede the noun, although he attributes this structure to a 'more colloquial style' (Krifka 1995: 1398).

For the present analysis of the different ways in which referents can be tracked in Swahili texts, two types of constructions with demonstratives will be considered as relevant. Firstly, those in which a demonstratives co-occurs with a noun to identify a referent, and secondly those in which a demonstrative stands on its own and is used anaphorically (the distinction with the deictic use is discussed in the analysis in Chap-

ters 7-9). Both can be used to refer back to a participant and are therefore among the available referent-tracking tools alongside others such as OMs or personal pronouns. A summary of Wilt's (1987) study on the discourse function of Swahili demonstratives is presented further in this chapter in Section 6.2.4.2.

6.2.3 Notes on the argument structure

> "The word order [of Swahili], though basically SVO, is relatively free - the two NPs and the verb (...) can be arranged in any order. Hence agreement, or cross-reference, bears a considerable functional load in determining subject and object" (Krifka 1995: 1399).

Krifka's (1995) quote only supports what has been discussed in Chapter 3 about the importance that has been given to object marking in determining the object of a verb. Aside from the syntactic implication, this has an important impact on the discourse analysis of Swahili texts, as understanding the argument structure of verbs helps to demonstrate the way objects are tracked in discourse. Therefore, in 6.2.3.1, a few issues are discussed relating to the argument structure of Swahili verbs: double object constructions, locatives and object ellipsis.

6.2.3.1 Double-object constructions

Double-object constructions in Swahili have been studied especially in connection with the (a)symmetry of the two objects of ditransitive verbs (Riedel 2009b, Citko 2011 amongst others). This has triggered a discussion in the literature, as Swahili seems to exhibit a split between symmetric and asymmetric patterns depending on the type of construction. For inherently ditransitive verbs, the pattern appears to be asymmetrical, as only the object typically associated with the recipient-like semantic role can access object marking and passivisation, while the corresponding structures with the patient-like subject are ungrammatical (Krifka 1995). Example (22) demonstrates the fact that only the recipient object *wanafunzi* 'pupils' of a double object construction involving the verb *kupa* 'give' can become the subject of the corresponding passive construction

(22a). When the theme object *mpira* 'ball' is the subject of the passive construction, the result is ungrammatical (22b).

(22) a. *Wa-nafunzi wa-li-p-ew-a mpira na mw-alimu.*
2-pupil SM2-PST-give-PASS-FV 9.ball by 1-teacher
'The children were given the ball by the teacher.'

b. **Mpira i-li-p-ew-a wa-nafunzi na mwalimu.*
9.ball SM9-PST-give-PASS-FV 2-pupil by 1-teacher
Int. ('The children were given the ball by the teacher.')

(Krifka 1995: 1400)

According to Wald (1979), Swahili has developed certain rules for the availability of an OM in double-object constructions which are not completely dissimilar to Makhuwa. If there is more than one object, only the human object will have the corresponding OM on the verb. However, if both objects are human '(...) only the object of the outermost verb derivational suffix can be OM-marked' (Wald 1979:508). As example (23) demonstrates, this means that if both objects have been introduced by a verbal derivational suffix, only the object of the suffix furthest away from the verbal root will be object marked. The order of the suffix in this case reflex the order in which these valency changing processes have been applied to the verb. In (23a) the object *watoto* 'children' has been introduced into the argument structure of the verb by the causative, while *mwanamke* 'woman' has been introduced as an object by the applicative. As the applicative is the outermost verb derivational suffix, only the object *mwanamke* 'woman' can be object marked on the verb (23a). When the object *watoto* 'children' is object marked, as in (23b), the sentence is ungrammatical.

(23) a. *ni-li-m-l-ish-i-a mwanamke watoto*
SM1SG-PST-OM1-eat-CAUS-APPL-FV 1.woman 2.children
'I fed the children for the woman.'

b. **ni-li-wa-l-ish-ia mwanamke watoto*
SM1SG-PST-OM2-eat-CAUS-APPL-FV 2.children 1.woman
Int. ('I fed the children for the woman.')

(Wald 1979:508)

However, the situation is more complex in applicative constructions. According to Citko (2011), benefactive and goal applicatives follow the aforementioned asymmetric pattern, but locative applicatives show evidence of symmetricity, as shown by the passivisation test below. In (24) both objects of the verb *kulia* 'to eat somewhere' can function as the subject of the corresponding passive construction. In (24a) we can see the locative argument *ofisini* 'in the office' in the subject position, while in (24b) it is the theme object *chakula* 'food'.

(24) a. *Ofisi-ni pa-li-l-i-w-a chakula.*
office-loc sm16-pst-eat-appl-pass-fv 7.food
'In the office was eaten food.'

b. *Chakula ki-li-l-i-w-a ofisi-ni*
7.food sm7-pst-eat-pass-fv 9.office-loc
'The food was eaten in the office.' (Citko 2011: 113)

Murrell (2012), in his close examination of Swahili applicatives, starts by recognising the complexity of the study of double object constructions.

> "It has been noted (...) that recent research describes a situation which is considerably more complex than a simple two-way divide. Languages such as Kiswahili and chiShona are not consistently asymmetrical or symmetrical; the animacy, semantic role and focal position of objects in a clause are often critical" (Murell 2012:255).

Murell (2012) carefully surveys various synactic tests such passivisation and accessibility of object marking for all types of applicatives while also testing different combinations of the animacy factor for the two objects (an important step in the analysis which is sometimes overlooked). He then comes to the conclusion that Swahili exhibits patterns of an asymmetric language as the behaviour of the objects in applicative constructions depends on their semantic role.

One of the interesting aspects of Murell's (2012) work for the present study is his attention to testing which objects in which constructions can be represented by an OM when deleted - something directly linked to the referent tracking of participants. Con-

sider the following examples. In (25) the double object applicative construction with the verb *pika* 'cook' shows how both the animate beneficiary object *wageni* 'visitors' (25a) and the theme object *mkate* 'bread' (25b) can be object marked when omitted.

(25) a. *ni-na-wa-pik-i-a* *mkate* *huu*
SM1SG-PRS-OM2-cook-APPL-FV 3-bread 3.DEMI
'I am cooking this bread for them.'

b. *ni-na-u-pik-i-a* *wa-geni*
SM1SG-PRS-OM3-cook-APPL-FV 2-visitor
'I am cooking it for the visitors.' (Murell 2012: 263)

As can be seen from the examples in (25), Murell observes that: '(...) if the applied object is deleted, irrespective of whether it is animate or inanimate, it must be marked on the verb' (Murell 2012: 263). This example therefore clearly shows the importance of considering object marking as a discourse tool, as in certain environments the tracking of the (deleted) referent overrides factors such as animacy or semantic role in determining the occurrence of an OM.

Noteworthy is also Murell's link of object marking in applicative constructions to the use of personal pronouns in Swahili.

(26) *a-li-pik-i-a* *yeye* *sherehe*
SM1-PST-cook-APPL-FV him 9.party
'He cooked him for the party.' (Murell 2012: 263)

When it comes to direct objects, unexpressed animate direct objects cannot be marked on the verb, unlike their inanimate equivalents (25b). In the case of the omission of a direct animate object, an independent pronoun must follow the verb (26). However, Murell also notes that this construction is 'pragmatically only used for contrast' (Murell 2012: 263).

6.2.3.2 Locatives

The ambivalent status of locative elements in the argument structure of the verb in Bantu has been already been discussed in Section 3.4.2. Moreover, Riedel & Marten's

(2012) work examines the way individual languages differ in regard to how freely they allow locatives to be object marked. They also come to the conclusion that as locatives exhibit an intermediate status between argument and adjunct, '(...) locative object marking is not a good test for argumenthood' (Riedel & Marten 2012: 290). The situation in Swahili is symptomatic of these issues.

Among the arguments pointing to the status of some Swahili locatives as adjuncts is word order, as locatives like other adjuncts have to follow the object, as in example (27a) where the object *matunda* 'fruit' obligatorily precedes the adjunct *sokoni* 'at the market:

(27) a. *Ni-li-nunua ma-tunda soko-ni.*
SM1SG-PST-buy 6-fruit market-LOC
'I bought fruit at the market.'

b. **Ni-li-nunua soko-ni ma-tunda.*
SM1SG-PST-buy market-LOC 6-fruit
Int: 'I bought fruit at the market.' (Riedel & Marten 2012: 279)

The use of locative object markers, on the other hand, would imply the object status of other locative elements in Swahili, as in (28) where location 'there' is object marked on the verb with the class 16 OM *-pa-*.

(28) *Ni-li-pa-fika.*
SM1SG-PST-OM16-arrive
'I arrived there.' (Riedel & Marten 2012: 283)

Krifka (1995) sees the issue of argumenthood of locatives in Swahili in terms of their relationship with the verb. For him, locatives are complements if they are 'governed' by the verb. We can imagine that by this he considers that they are semantically selected by the verb, although this is not stated. Krifka's examples of locative complements involve *shuleni* 'at school' for the verb *fika* 'arrive' (29a) and *sandukuni* 'in the box' for the verb *weka* 'put' (29b).

(29) a. *M-toto a-li-fika shule-ni*
1-child SM1-PST-arrive school-LOC

'The child arrived at the school.'

b. *Mtoto a-li-ya-weka ma-tunda sanduku-ni*
1-child SM1-PST-OM6-put 6-fruit box-LOC
'The child put the oranges into the box.' (Krifka 1995: 1400)

On the other hand, locatives which are not governed by the verb occur as free adjuncts, like in the example (30), having a more loose semantic relationship to the verb. Here, the locative *nyumbani* 'in the house' does not have close semantic relationship with the verb *imba* 'sing'.

(30) *M-toto a-li-imba nyumba-ni*
1-child SM1-PST-sing house-LOC
'The child sang in the house'. (Krifka 1995: 1400)

As many instances of locative elements, including the ones which trigger object marking, occur in the collected texts, this topic will be taken on also in the analysis in Chapter 9.

6.2.3.3 Object ellipsis

Among the strategies available to refer to participants in Swahili, it is also necessary to consider instances where an object participant does have any overt expression, namely instances of object ellipsis. Although object drop is not considered common for Swahili (Marten 2013a), Seidl and Dimitriadis (1997) note that an object (including OM) can be omitted in spoken Swahili under certain circumstances. Nicolle (1996) notes that the use of transitive verbs with neither an OM nor a NP object is not only possible, but commonly used in spoken Swahili. Amidu (2006) also observes the omission of both the overt NP and the OM when referring back to an object and states that it is '(...) a highly grammatical and a highly acceptable Kiswahili construction when used in [certain] speech contexts and discourse' (Amidu 2006: 366).

According to Krifka (1995) leaving out an object (including the OM) can result in different meanings depending on the verb. "With many transitive verbs, the object may be dropped, yielding an indefinite interpretation; cf. *Juma a-na-kula* (1.Juma

SM1-PRS-eat) 'Juma is eating'. With other verbs, we get a definite interpretation; cf. *Juma a-me-peleka* (1.Juma SM1-PRF-send) 'Juma has sent (it)'" (Krifka 1995: 1410). In addition, he notes that only inanimate objects can be omitted, and this reinforces the relevance of animacy in Swahili grammar (Krifka 1995).

Regardless of the analysis of the semantic interpretation, this study considers as object ellipsis instances where a verb - which can take an object and where the object is clear from the previous context - does not exhibit an OM and other referring expressions (e.g. NPs or pronouns) are not present in the clause. Below are two examples taken from Wald's (1979) study, where the same approach to object drop is taken.

(31) a. *ua rangi ya zambarua a-i-chukua jus y-ake*
flower color of purple SM1-OM9-take 9.juice 9-POSS3SG
'He took the juice of a purple flower'

b. *a-tia ndani ya ma-cho ya T*
SM1-put inside CONN 6-eyes 6.CONN T
'and put it in T's eyes'

(32) a. *yule mama a-ka-wa-tukua watoto...*
1.DEMIII 1.woman SM1-SUBS-OM2-take 2-children
'The woman took the children...'

b. *ha-ku-weka ndani ya maji*
NEG.SM1-PST.NEG-put inside of 6.water
'she didn't put (them) in the water.' (Wald 1979: 514)

The verbs in bold in both examples show the potential for an OM to refer back to the object which is implied by the context, as can be seen in the use of the pronouns in bold in the English translation. However, in both cases neither an OM nor any other referring expression is used. In understanding better the environments in which an OM is used or not in Swahili, it is important to note the kind of verbs and constructions which allow an object ellipsis. In both of Wald's examples, the verbs have a locative element in their semantic argument structure; 'to put/place something somewhere'. These type of constructions were attested in the data collected for this study as well, and a connection between the type of verb and the potential for object ellipsis will therefore be investigated.

6.2.4 Swahili discourse

Swahili discourse remains an understudied field. Swahili grammars such as Ashton (1944) make occasional reference to discourse-related use of certain grammatical structures, but a comprehensive description of Swahili discourse strategies is yet to be published. However, different morphosyntactic phenomena have been linked to discourse (see Marten 2002 for applicatives, Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997 or Wald 1979 for OMs, Krifka 1983 for word order, amongst others). In this way, certain aspects of the nature of Swahili discourse are gradually being uncovered, and these studies show its relevance for the explanation of various linguistic phenomena. Thus, the relevant traits of Swahili discourse that emerged from previous studies are presented in this section, before the analysis of objects and their tracking in Swahili discourse is presented in Chapter 9.

6.2.4.1 Topic and focus

Among the few studies of discourse and information structure related to aspects of Swahili grammar, we find Augustin's (2007) description of topic and focus strategies in Swahili. Augustin tries to identify how topic and focus in the sense of Lambrecht (1994) are encoded in Swahili by looking at elicited data. The data used in Augustin's study comes from only one speaker from Nairobi (from a Swahili and Kikamba family language background), and therefore cannot be taken as representative of Swahili in general, as she admits, but the analysis is nonetheless a contribution to this understudied field.

Augustin works with the assumption that both topic and focus are associated with a certain position within the Swahili word-order, as further explained here. When the terms 'unmarked' and 'marked' topic/focus are used, this really refers to an 'unmarked' or 'default' word-order or, on the other hand, to constructions where this word-order is readjusted to mark topic or focus. Augustin describes unmarked constructions, which are typically associated with the 'topic-comment structure' in Swahili as follows: "... the natural position for unmarked topic is sentence-initial, while un-

marked focus is post-verbal" (Augustin 2007:3). Especially relevant for our discussion is Augustin's analysis of continuing topics. She works with the assumption that if a topic of a sentence is the same as in the preceding one it does not require any special marking. As Swahili is a pro-drop language, Augustin notes that "(...) these unmarked, continuing, topics are encoded as subject markers on the verb" (Augustin 2007: 2). As a consequence, the present investigation into object marking needs to take into consideration the role which object markers might have in maintaining such topic continuity, if at all (see Chapter 6).

Much of Augustin's paper is dedicated to topic and focus situations which are considered marked, and therefore where an element needs to be highlighted under certain special circumstances. In the case of marked topics, Augustin describes the syntactic construction of 'topicalization' which consists of placing an element in a fronted position. The function of this is often to express a contrastive topic. Particularly relevant for our discussion are Augustin's examples of this strategy involving objects, both direct (33) and indirect (34).

(33) *Chai na-penda, lakini kahawa si-pend-i.*
9.tea SM1SG.PRS-like but 9.coffee SM1SG.PRS.NEG-like-FV.NEG
'Tea I like but coffee I don't like.'

(34) *John a-li-m-pa kifungua mimba gari, lakini wa-toto w-ake*
1.John SM1-PST-OM1-give eldest child car but 2-child 2-POSS3SG
w-engine a-li-wa-pa vi-tu vidogo vidogo.
2-other SM1-PST-OM2-give 7-things 7-small 7-small
'John gave his firstborn son a car, but to his other children he gave little things.'

(Augustin 2007: 3)

A second marked topic construction Augustin describes is left dislocation. This occurs typically when a full NP/PP or pronoun appears to the left of a complete sentence. To exemplify the difference from the topicalization discussed above, see Augustin's examples in (35) below.

(35) a. *Ni-li-mw-ona m-toto huyo jana.*
SM1SG-PST-OM1-see 1-child that yesterday
'I saw that boy yesterday.'

(Unmarked)

b. *M-toto huyo ni-li-mw-ona jana.*
1-child 1.DEMII SM1SG-PST-OM1-see yesterday
'That boy I saw yesterday.'

(Contrastive Topic – object fronted)

c. *M-toto huyo, ni-li-mw-ona jana.*
1-child 1.DEMII SM1SG-PST-OM1-see yesterday
'That boy, I saw him yesterday.'

(Left-dislocation – object fronted + pause) (Augustin 2007: 4)

In this example, the only difference between the two marked constructions is the pause between the fronted object and the predicate. Augustin's choice of terminology makes it difficult to see the subtly different nature of these constructions. The term 'left-dislocation' is simply syntactically describing a construction used for topicalization (although topicalization more broadly, not just contrastively).

However, what is also important for left dislocation is that cross-linguistically this construction is characterised by the presence of a resumptive pronoun in the sentence which is co-referential with the left dislocated element (Duranti et al. 1979). Augustin notes, however, that this is not necessary for Swahili when an SM or OM is already present (as they will fulfil the function of a resumptive pronoun). The exception to this would be an instance when a specific construction does not allow for the SM or OM to occur as, for example, the use of the habitual marker *hu-* (36b).

(36) a. *Peter a-na-fanya nini sasa*
Peter SM1-PRS-do what now
'What's Peter doing now?'

b. *Peter, yeye hu-somea chuo ki-kuu.*
Peter 3SG.PRON HAB-study university
'Peter, he studies at university.' (Augustin 2007: 4)

In (36b) 'Peter' is the topic marked by left dislocation. Cross-linguistically it would be

common to have a resumptive pronoun in the main clause referring to Peter. However, in Swahili this function will typically be realised by the SM instead. But in (36b) the corresponding SM does not appear as the use of the habitual marker *hu-* does not combine with subject marking. What Augustin does not elaborate on is the fact that a personal pronoun (*yeye*) is used. Whether this pronoun is used instead of the SM as a resumptive pronoun for the left-dislocation remains to be seen. Similarly, it would be interesting to know whether the pronoun *yeye* is obligatory or optional in such instances.

Augustin suggests that the left dislocation construction is typical of speaking rather than writing, although she does not elaborate on this further. She notes that this construction is used with referents familiar to the hearer from previous discourse or to introduce new topics, providing that the referent is accessible from the physical context (Augustin 2007).

(37) *Ma-yai, kaka y-ako a-li-nunua ma-ngapi?*
6-egg 1.brother 1-POSS.2SG SM1-PST-buy 6-how.many
'Eggs, how many did your brother buy?'

(Augustin 2007: 4)

Although Augustin does not elaborate further on the example in (37), it is worth noting that there is no OM, despite what has been said about OM substituting the function of resumptive pronouns in these constructions. Whether this has to do with the type of referent or with syntactic conditions of this structure remains to be seen. In Chapter 9 this question will be addressed again when left-dislocation constructions are surveyed in our texts.

On the correlation between the use of an OM or pronoun to mark topic, Augustin says: "While unstressed pronouns (subject marker, object marker) often encode unmarked topics, contrastive topics can be marked with independent personal pronouns" (Augustin 2007:7). In the question-answer example in (38), we can see the personal pronoun *mimi* 'me' is used as a contrastive topic (38c), where the referent (the speaker) Sarah puts herself in contrast with the previous referent Peter and his answer (38b).

(38) a. Alice: *Je, m-nge-penda kw-enda ku-tembea?*
QUEST 2.PL-COND-love INF-go INF-stroll
'Would you(pl.) like to take a walk?'

b. Peter: *La, ni-nge-penda ku-tazama runinga.*
no 1SG.S-COND-love INF-look.at television
'No, I'd rather watch television.'

c. Sarah: *Mimi ni-nge-penda ku-lala.*
PRON.1SG SM1SG-COND-love INF-sleep
'I'd rather take a nap. (or, As for me, I'd rather take a nap.)'

(Augustin 2007: 7)

As for marked focus constructions Augustin presents the use of cleft constructions involving the copula *ni* as in example (39).

(39) *Ni chai na-penda, sio kahawa.*
COP tea SM1SG.PRS-like COP.NEG coffee
'It's tea I like, it's not coffee.' (Augustin 2007:8)

Bearth (1999: 129) points also to another type of focus marking in Swahili, which he calls 'subtractive'. This is achieved by a marked word order where postverbal elements are moved to a fronted topic position. By doing so they get defocused and leave the verb form in the focus position. "It is not the focus constituent which undergoes movement, but the special focus effect is obtained by moving a non-focalised constituent out of its (unmarked) focus position" (Bearth 1999 :129). One of his examples (40) is from the play *Mama ee* by Mwachofi (1987). Here the postverbal object *uso* 'face' is moved in front of the verb, leaving the verbal phrase *utakuwa huna* 'you will not have' in focus position:

(40) *Uso wa ku-tazama wa-tu u-ta-kuwa hu-na.*
11.face 11.CONN INF-watch 2-people SM11-FUT-be SM2SG.NEG-have
'You will no longer dare to look into peoples' eyes, you will lose your reputation.' (lit.: A face to look at people you will not have.)

(Mwachofi 1987: 11 in Bearth 1999: 129)

In addition to this, Swahili has a number of morphological ways to express focus such

as the use of *tu* 'only' or *pekee* 'alone, only' for exclusive focus as exemplified by Augustin in example (41), *pekee* 'alone' follows the referent *chakula* 'food' to express exclusive focus of this object

(41) *Mary hu-pat-i-a wa-toto chakula pekee.*
Mary HAB-get-APPL-FV 2-child 7.food alone
'Mary gives only food to the children.' (Augustin 2007: 11)

Augustin's paper on topic and focus also touches on how these phenomena are coded in the prosody. She summarizes the basic patterns in Swahili (mostly based on Maw 1975) as follows:

> "All words in Swahili greater than one syllable may bear stress (higher pitch) on the penultimate syllable. Neutral intonation in a tone group[4] consists of one required stressed syllable, the tonic, optionally preceded by a pre-tonic which contains one or two key points (the pre-salient, usually accentless, and the salient, a stressed syllable). Neutral intonation in a tone-group places the salient on the first lexical item and the tonic on the final lexical item" (Augustin 2007: 5).

In Augustin's (2007) analysis, this neutral pattern is contrasted with a number of marked ones which are used according to certain information structure requirements. These include examples such as contrastive topic bearing higher pitch or intonation which can distinguish between Predicate Focus and Argument Focus (see Augustin 2007: 9).

A second aspect of prosody considered by Augustin is rhythm. As an illustrative example, she presents the sentence in (42):

(42) *Mw-anamke huyo, a-na-m-jua dada yangu.*
1-woman 1.DEMII SM1-PRS-OM1-know 1.sister POSS.1SG
Possible translations:

a. 'That woman, she knows my sister.'

[4] 'usually coterminous with a clause' (Augustin 2007: 11).

b. (without a pause) 'That woman knows my sister.' (Augustin 2007:6)

In example (42), a pause after the first NP can differentiate a left dislocated topic – translation (42a) from an unmarked subject translation (42b). This is relevant for the discussion on object markers and discourse as prosodic patterns are one of the factors considered in this study.

6.2.4.2 Swahili demonstratives in discourse

Wilt (1987) discusses the use of demonstratives in Swahili written texts, showing the relevance of discourse in explaining the use of a certain form at a given point. His paper comes as a response to Leonard's (1985) study, in which Leonard proposed a link between the type of demonstrative used and the noteworthiness of the corresponding referent or the speaker's concentration of attention on it. Wilt, on the other hand, argues that distance (or proximity) is the decisive factor determining the use of one type demonstrative over another. His understanding of proximity, however, is broadened beyond physical space to include temporal, narrative and anaphoric distance (Wilt 1987: 81). Both studies (Leonard 1985 and Wilt 1987) make an important contribution in including discourse factors to understand an aspect of Swahili grammar. Albeit lacking references to establish discourse categories (which were not as developed at the time) their studies share similar approach to the way the present study aims to understand object marking within discourse. Moreover, as this study also includes demonstratives as part of the participant tracking paradigm, their findings are relevant to the analysis and are therefore summarised below. In Chapters 8 and 9 a brief comparison is also made to the use of demonstratives in the texts recorded for the present study to see whether there are differences between the studies which might be related to the use of demonstratives in written and spoken discourse.

Leonard's (1985) findings on the use of demonstratives depending on their noteworthiness is illustrated in Table 6.7.

Working with the assumption that a new element is more noteworthy than an already mentioned one, Leonard also deduces that DEM I is associated more with new refer-

DEM I	'hii, huu, ...'		most noteworthy
DEM II	'hiyo, huyu, ...'		(less noteworthy)
DEM III	'ile, ule, ...'	↓	least noteworthy

Table 6.7: Leonard (1985): Swahili demonstratives in discourse

ents, while DEM III is associated more with old ones. Leonard supports his claim with a statistical analysis of a number of texts from Swahili novels.

Wilt (1987) contests these findings by explaining the occurrence of different types of demonstratives with a proximity-related hypothesis. He studies the use of DEM I in contrast to DEM III in Swahili novels in a similar way to Leonard. He finds that if the proximity factor is considered in terms of the narrator's use of demonstratives versus the use by the characters in the novel, the alternation of demonstrative forms can be better accounted for. Wilt uses the term 'LE' (the root of that particular demonstrative type) to refer to the form of demonstratives here labelled DEM III and 'H' (the first consonant of that demonstrative form) for DEM I.

> "A better explanation is that the narrator's use of LE corresponds with his lack of participation in the scene and, thus, his referring to the objects from a narrative distance (third person voice rather than first person in which this distance would not be as consistently kept). In contrast, the characters use H to refer to objects in their immediate presence" (Wilt 1987: 83).

His hypothesis further explains certain exceptions to this, such as the occasional use of DEM III by characters in the novel, which however refers to people or actions from past discourse, now distant from the characters and therefore cases of non-proximity.

Wilt (1987) applies the notion of proximity/distance also to another factor, which in his opinion affects the alternation of demonstratives, namely textual distance. This is the distance between the anaphoric expression and its antecedent. This aspect is crucial for the present study on OMs as Wilt also looks at text structuring as an important element in understanding which forms are used to pick out a referent. His hypothesis on the use of a specific demonstratives according to textual distance distinguishes an

'anaphoric tie within paragraph' versus an 'anaphoric tie across paragraph boundaries' (Wilt 1987:87). Thus, DEM I as the form denoting proximity is used within a paragraph, and in contrast, DEM III as the form expressing a certain amount of distance is used across paragraph boundaries. Although Wilt indicates no connection to the mental status of a referent, this could be directly linked to the theory that a referent is more 'active' in the hearer's mind when mentioned within the same paragraph, as described in Section 4.3.3. Example (43) is an extract from the novel Kichwamaji, along with Wilt's (1987) analysis of the use of demonstratives in it.

(43) *Juu ya jiwe niliona kibwawa kldogo cha maji. Ndani ya maji haya niliona* ***nyuki*** *ameanguka aklogelea... Mwanzoni nilifurahi kumwona* ***huyu mdudu*** *akipigania maisha... Nilijiona mungu mdogo. Nilitazama tena pande zote, watoto, nyumba na mltl, vyote vilikuwa chini yangu.*

Nilichukua kijiti kidogo sana ambacho kwacho nilimtoa ***yule nyuki*** *majini... Kwa* ***huyu mdudu*** *nilikuwa na nguvu ambazo haziwezi kufahamika.*

'On the rock I saw a puddle of water. In this water I saw **a bee**, which had fallen in, swimming... At first I was happy to see **this insect** struggling for life... I saw myself as a little god. I again looked around; children, houses and trees, all were beneath me.

I took a twig which I used to take **that** bee from the water... For **this insect**, I had incomprehensible powers.'

(extract from Kezilahabi 1974)

The focus of the extract in (43) is the way the narrator refers to the participant *nyuki* 'bee'. After the first introduction, the bee is referred to by DEM I within the same paragraph. However, after the start of a new paragraph the participant is now referred to by a DEM III. Finally, the last mention switches to DEM I again as its closest referent is now within the same paragraph.

Wilt's (1987) study makes a great contribution to the study of Swahili grammar from a semantic/discourse perspective, but his analysis is perhaps too fragmented, as

no unified coherent mechanism can be applied to account for the forms used. Although proximity is at the center of his hypothesis, different factors are applied to different occurrences, as explained in one of his final remarks. Here Wilt (1987) explains the varying results from novels of two different authors: Abdulla's *Mzimu wa Watu wa Kale* (MZ) and Kezilahabi's *Kichwa Maji* (KM).

> "This difference between the MZ and KM uses of the demonstratives may be due to the difference between third person (MZ) and first person (KM) narrative style; a general difference in discourse style of the two different authors; and/or the differing strength of various rules in determining which type of discourse distance (temporal, spatial, narrator vs. character, or anaphoric) is most salient" (Wilt 1987: 88).

Wilt (1987) further argues that the quantification of whether demonstratives can be explained by traditional physical distance is best applied to exophoric references with clearer cases of spatial (also temporal) proximity rather than endophoric in-text occurrences. The latter are according to Wilt (1987) affected by "(...) complicating factors such as narrative voice and anaphoric distance" (Wilt 1987:88).

6.2.4.3 The development of the Swahili object marker (Wald 1979)

Within the study of Swahili discourse, probably the closest to the present work in terms of its aims is Wald's (1979) investigation of the development of the Swahili object marker. There are in fact many similarities with the present study in terms of the questions which Wald sets to answer, especially in trying to discover the interaction between syntax and discourse. "What purpose(s) does the OM serve in discourse? Why do speakers use it when they do?" (Wald 1979:505) asks, similarly to the research questions outlined for this study. In addition to this, however, the present study sees OMs as part of a more complex system of participant tracking including other structures; therefore studying the use of the OM rather than (or in addition to) other referring expressions, differently from Wald who does not address, for example, the use of pronouns in Swahili.

This study also differs from Wald's in comparing this Swahili phenomenon to another language. Wald, however, also mentions cross-linguistic aspects as he states: "(...) the syntactic availability of the OM serves discourse requirements, requirements that might be served by other linguistic means or by none at all in another language" (Wald 1979: 506). He also approaches the study of the Swahili OM from a more diachronic angle. His research stems from the assumption that the OM developed from a preverbal pronoun. In having a pronominal function originally, the OM referred to 'old information', i.e. previously mentioned in discourse (Wald 1979: 508). Wald therefore tries to reconstruct the grammaticalisation path the Swahili OM has undergone from a pronominal status, to marking old information to then spreading to the current pattern. According to Wald, the current OM pattern is centred mostly on the preference in marking definite human referents, as has emerged from his research. But overall, he finds that the 'human' feature has much more weight in determining the use of OMs especially in comparison to the often quoted 'definiteness'. Another important finding from Wald's statistics of patterns in the collected texts regards structures in which OMs occur. For his study Wald distinguishes whether the OM occurs together with the following overt NP or not.

> "(...) regardless of what might be imagined a priori about discourse, the majority of objects are (...) lexically specified. It is not the case, as one might naively imagine, that the lexical objects are mentioned once and then go on to be anaphorically mentioned (...)" (Wald 1979: 517-18).

The situation however changes when looking only at human objects. Although the OMs which occur anaphorically on their own are fewer in terms of total number (compared to instances where the OM co-occurs with an overt NP), they mostly refer to humans. Wald evaluates his results as follows:

> "(...) although the majority of first-mentioned objects are inanimate, very few survive to a second mention, that is, to definiteness. Human objects, although fewer in number, have DURABILITY in discourse and tend to achieve definite status" (Wald 1979: 518).

By ‘durability’ Wald understands repeated reference to an object after the first mention (Wald 1979: 518-522). Wald therefore links the anaphoric use of OM to definiteness (which in his opinion has subsequently spread to mark definiteness also when occurring with the overt NP). Some of his assumptions in the above mentioned statement, however, lead to further questions. If inanimate objects do not continue to be referred to through the text by an OM, does this necessarily mean they do not survive to a second mention at all? Are examples of object ellipsis and pronouns also taken into account? When Wald talks about inanimates forming the majority of first-mentions, presumably this is because of the high number of inanimate lexical objects (including both with the corresponding OM and without) occurring in his texts (see Wald 1979: 516-17, Tables 1 and 2 for details). This, however, assumes that lexical objects are used only for the first-mention of an object. Is it possible that an inanimate object is subsequently mentioned again in its full lexical form? These questions are therefore considered in following chapters when analysing the data collected for the present study.

Wald (1979) also introduces an additional feature of ‘discourse distinctiveness’ to account for the use of OMs. In his opinion this explains in particular instances when an OM co-occurs with a nondefinite human object, as those are more ‘distinct’ in that they are less expected and less independent of the topic of discourse. This is in opposition with nondefinite inanimates which occur more often and are therefore more expected and less distinct. The use of OM, in the case of inanimates, is reserved for when the object is topical in the given discourse, and this is linked to the factors already discussed including definiteness, durability and discourse distinctiveness. Wald sums up his study by saying that: “(...) the OM is nearing syntactization with human objects under the influence of generalisations about discourse at the same time as it remains a discourse marker for inanimate objects” (Wald 1979:523).

6.3 Summary

This chapter aimed to introduce background information on Swahili which is required to better understand the discourse analysis in the following chapters. The first part was devoted to the types of Swahili referring expressions which can be used to denote participants in texts and the discussion in the literature of attested instances of their use. This includes the anaphoric function of OMs, the link of definiteness to object marking and the use of personal pronouns for emphasis. The following sections discussed Swahili argument structure and connected issues which interact with occurrences of object marking, such as double object constructions, locatives and object ellipsis.

In the final section certain aspects of Swahili discourse studied in previous work were highlighted which are significant for the following discussion. Augustin (2007) explains how topic and focus are signalled by marked syntactic structures in Swahili and sometimes by marked prosodic patterns. Wilt (1987) proposes an analysis of the use of different demonstratives in texts based on the many aspects of the 'proximity' concept. Lastly, Wald (1979) presents findings on the use of OMs in discourse collected among Mombasa Swahili speakers. To account for the resulting patterns he introduces the notions of 'durability' and 'discourse distinctiveness'.

Finally, below is a list of Swahili patterns and features which emerged from the discussion in this chapter and will be investigated in the following analysis:

- the way subject participants are denoted where SMs are absent (such as the *hu*-habitual tense or infinitives)
- the possibe but not obligatory co-occurence of OMs with full NPs (especially for inanimates)
- the anaphoric use of OMs for 'given' participants and the concept of 'discourse distinctiveness'
- the way participants are expressed in double object constructions (with OMs, pronouns and full NPs)

- the use of personal pronouns for emphasis
- the object marking of locatives and the ambivalent status of locatives in general
- instances of object ellipsis
- the discourse use of different types of demonstratives

In Chapters 5 and 6, types of referring expressions in Makhuwa and Swahili have been identified and findings from previous work about their use and occurrences have been discussed. With this background information, referent tracking in the texts collected for this study can now be described and the findings compared with the patterns already attested in the literature.

Chapter 7

The discourse properties of Makhuwa and Swahili texts

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents some general discourse patterns which emerge from the study of Makhuwa and Swahili texts. If we want to understand the choice of referring expression at a certain point in discourse, we first need to explore the discourse properties of the given language and its texts. Therefore, to better understand the findings on the tracking of referents in discourse discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, several aspects of the texts analysed in this study are summarised here. Firstly, in Section 7.2 some notes on discourse-related prosodic patterns are presented together with other examples of text structuring used in the two languages, including semantic-pragmatic signalling. In the second half of the chapter this is followed by a survey of the density of referring expressions in discourse, obtained by applying Bickel's (2003) method discussed in Section 7.3.

7.2 Text structuring

In this section, several features of the recorded texts are discussed both for Makhuwa and Swahili. The focus is especially on the ways the texts are structured, including by

means of prosody, as this is directly linked to the analysis of the use of object marking and other referring expressions. There are of course differences according to the genre of the various texts which will also be explored. The observed patterns remain only a very general description based on the available samples, and these patterns might be studied in the future on a more quantitative basis, to assess more accurately the overall discourse properties of Makhuwa and Swahili.

In Section 4.2.2 some cross-linguistic patterns were presented as evidence for the internal structure of texts. Prosodic features such as intonation and pauses help us to recognise a certain degree of segmentation beyond the smallest discourse-level constituent (intonation units). Moreover, morphosyntactic patterns such as the use of various TAM markers or the links between anaphoric expressions as well as conventionalised set phrases have also been attested to point to the existence of larger chunks of texts, often called paragraphs. In the following discussion, some signs of such text structuring in Makhuwa and Swahili are described based on the data recorded for this study. Prosodic properties are listed first in Section 7.2.1, followed by semantic and pragmatic evidence in Section 7.2.2.

7.2.1 Prosodic patterns

A number of observations on intonation and structuring of discourse made from the survey of Makhuwa and Swahili narrative and procedural texts are summarised below. Even though this is not intended to be a prosodic analysis of Makhuwa or Swahili discourse, some basic notes are important, as this study is based on the premise that intonation interacts with discourse since it is used by speakers (and hearers) to structure the text according to their mental representation (O'Grady 2003).

On a general level, the two languages have very similar prosodic features when it comes to text structuring and they will therefore be discussed together. Noteworthy differences are indicated in relevant sections. For a discussion of Swahili intonation see also (Ashton 1944) and Maw and Kelly (1975).

Intonation units (IU), as a basic unit of spoken discourse, are recognisable in

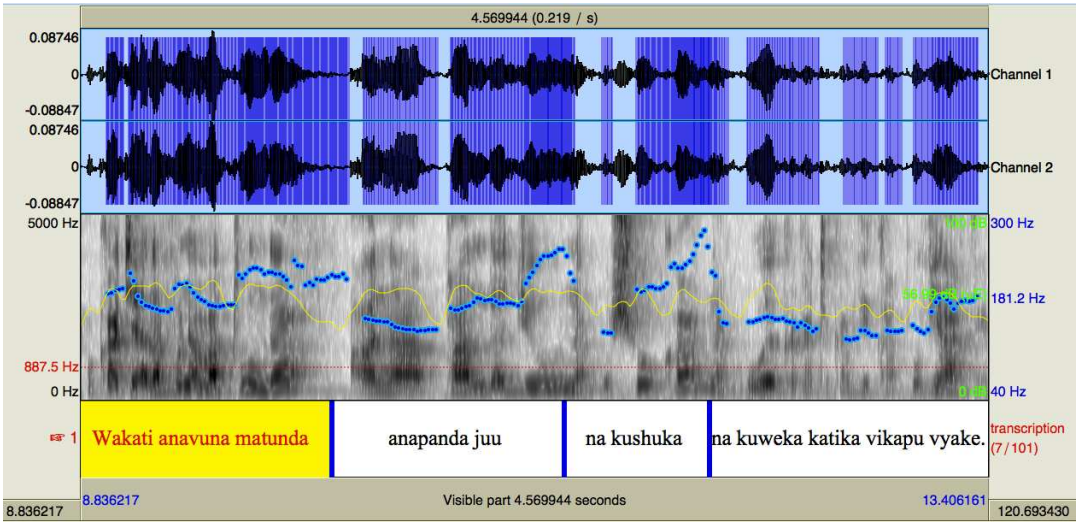

Figure 7.1: Swahili prosody: narrative

Makhuwa and Swahili from prosodic evidence. The most evident signs are a pause at the boundary between two IUs and a pitch reset at the beginning of each IU. This means, for example, that an IU will have a raising pitch and the next IU will start at a lower pitch (generally by going back to a default pitch level), often accompanied by stress. Repeated in Figure 7.1 is an example from Swahili which was first presented in Chapter 2 as an illustration of this process.

(1) a. *Wakati a-na-vuna ma-tunda* |
time SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit
'At the time he was picking fruits,'

b. *a-na-panda juu na* |
SM1-PRS-climb up and
'he climbs up and,'

c. *ku-shuka na* |
INF-descend and
'comes down and,'

d. *ku-weka katika vi-kapu vyake* |
INF-put in 8-basket 8.POSS3SG
'puts (them) in his baskets.'

In example (1), each IU (transcribed in the first tier and delimited by '|' boundary signs) has a rising intonation so that the pitch reset at the beginning of the next IU together with a pause clearly marks the boundary.

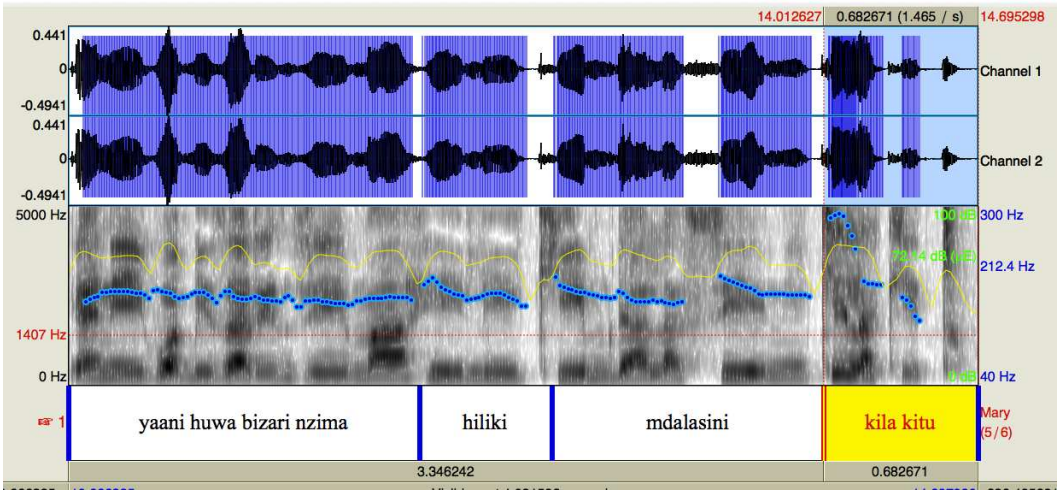

Figure 7.2: Swahili prosody: recipe

Intonation units sometimes correspond to simple clauses, like in the example above, but they can often be smaller than a clause or include more than one clause. IUs smaller than a clause are often made up of a noun phrase. For example, in procedural texts this occurred fairly regularly with listed items (see example (2)). At other times, an NP may constitute an IU on its own for the purposes of emphasis or as an afterthought.

Pitch movement, i.e. raising and falling intonation, seems to be vital to the structure of Makhuwa and Swahili texts. The way intonation units combine together to form larger chunks of the text is also reinforced by such prosodic patterns. The intonation contours signal the beginning and end of such chunks with falling and raising pitch. Similarly to what has been observed for English (O'Grady 2003), when an IU is at the very end of a larger discourse unit the pitch will fall to indicate the end or completeness of that part. And, following the same principle, raising or level pitch will convey incompleteness and therefore the continuation of that particular unit. O'Grady (2003) calls these 'terminal intonation contours' and 'nonterminal intonation contours'.

(2) a. *yaani hu-wa bizari n-zima* |
that.is HAB-be 9.cumin 9-whole
'that is usually cumin'

b. *hiliki* |
9.cardamon
'cardamom'

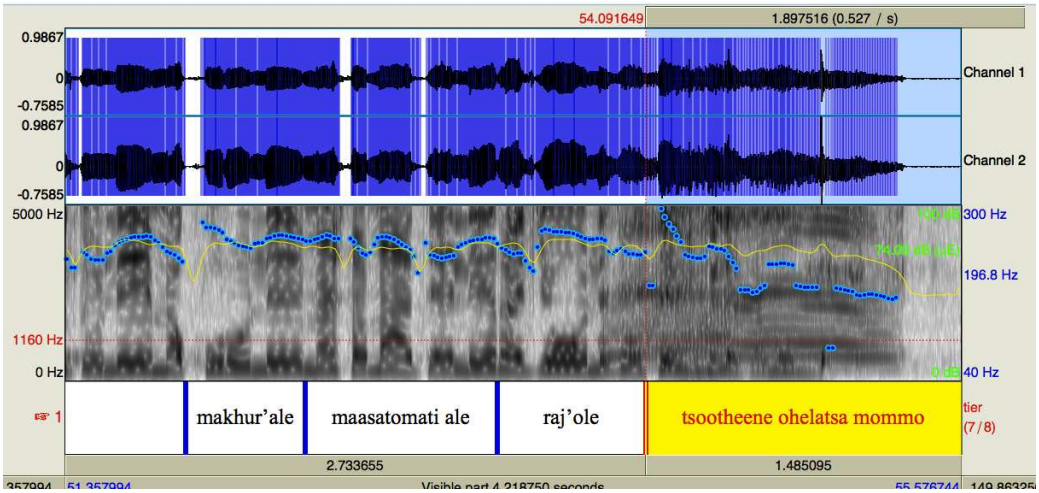

Figure 7.3: Makhuwa prosody: recipe

c. *mdalasini* |
9.cinnamon
'cinnamon'

d. *kila ki-tu* |
each 7-thing
'everything'

In example (2) from Swahili, ingredients are listed for a recipe. The difference in genre and text type results in differences in intonation, for example rising intonation in IUs and pitch reset are not visible here. It shows, however, both the way discourse units can correspond to stretches of text smaller than a clause and also (non)terminal intonation contours. While the first three IUs maintain a level pitch pattern, signalling to the hearer a continuation and incompleteness of this IS/paragraph, the last IU with a clear falling pitch marks the end of this segment and its completeness.

A corresponding example from one of the Makhuwa recipes is displayed in Figure 7.3 showing a similar pitch movement signalling (in)completeness.

(3) a. *ma-khur' ale* |
6-oil 6DEMIII
'that oil'

b. *maasatomaati ale* |
6.paste 6DEMIII
'that tomato paste'

c. *raj'* *ole* |
1.stock 1DEMIII
'that raja stock'

d. *ts-ootheene* *o-hela-tsa* *mommo* |
10-all INF-put-DUR 18RED.DEMII
'we put all right there'

Here again, the more level pitch pattern of the first three IUs contrasts with the falling pitch of the final IU, indicating the end of this discourse section. This example (3) also mirrors the Swahili sample in example (2) with items of a list corresponding to one IU each. This thus shows a clear prosodic pattern common to lists across the two languages which contrasts with the prosodic pattern of a typical narrative paragraph (as in ex.(2)). This also reiterates the importance of the cross-linguistic study of various genres and text types.

These prosodic factors combined with other discourse strategies show the existence of meaningful segments bigger than IUs which make up a text. One such type of segment is typically made up of 2-5 intonation units. In this study, they will be referred to as Intonation Sentences (IS) as they often correspond roughly to a complex sentence in written text made up of a number of clauses which reflects a unified proposition (these are sometimes treated as Prosodic Sentences (PS), e.g. Chafe 1994).

Like IUs, ISs can be detected by a longer pause and a certain pitch contour. A fundamental element of the pitch contour of an IS is the falling intonation of its last IU, as can be seen from the examples presented above. Falling intonation seems to signal the end of a chunk of text more generally, as in a similar way to IUs, we find a falling intonation on the last IS of a paragraph. A paragraph here thus represents an even larger segment of discourse encompassing several ISs grouped together. The meaning of falling intonation denoting completeness can also be seen in the very last paragraph of a story as it has an overarching falling intonation with generally lower pitch peaks both in Swahili and Makhuwa. And the paragraph pitch contours are evident not only in the final part but also at the beginning of a paragraph, as a raising intonation of the opening IS generally reaches higher pitch levels than the following ISs. This last

feature is particularly evident in the Makhuwa narratives, although it is also present in the Swahili texts. In addition to prosodic factors, paragraphs are defined in terms of certain conceptual and semantic signs such as the unity of participants and actions, as explained in Chapter 3. These are discussed in more detail in Section 7.2.2. Stress also interacts with intonation to indicate the structure of discourse, although its use varies depending on the type of stress and on the circumstances. For example, lexical stress (within a word/or phrase) can be used for contrastive focus (see example (4)), while prosodic stress (for which the domain is a larger unit, such as an IS) can be used for a change in time or location or even participants setting (see example (5)). This refers to the unity of time/location/participants which defines paragraphs, as explained in Section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4. As stress presents further complexities in Makhuwa - being a tonal language - the few illustratory examples presented here are taken from Swahili texts only.

(4) *wa-na-m-rejesh-ea* *yeye* *tena*
SM2-PRS-OM1-return.CAUS-APPl 3SG.PRON again
'They gave (it) back to him again'

This example (4) is taken from the Pear Story and describes part of the scene where three boys assist a fourth boy who falls from his bike and loses his hat. The stress is on *yeye* 'he' to signal the contrastive focus of the boys returning the hat back to the boy with the bike. The use of the personal pronoun supports this, as their used has been often linked to contrastive focus (Ashton 1944, Krifka 1995 - see also Chapter 8 for further discussion). This in turn helps us towards distinguishing the different discourse function that personal pronouns have as opposed to OMs as we have set out to find out in the initial research questions.

(5) *Wakati a-ki-wa* *juu* *(...)*
time SM1-SIT-be down
'When he was down (...)'

Example (5) from the Pear Story begins the next part of the narrative with the older

man up the tree. Here, in contrast to example (4), the stress is on the whole phrase *akiwa juu* 'he was up there' as this IU sets the start of a new paragraph by announcing a new time the narrator is going to talk about. The stress therefore combines with the use of the whole locative phrase *wakati akiwa juu* 'when he was up there' to set the time reference for the coming part of the story. The use of such semantic cues to signal paragraph boundaries is discussed in Section 7.2.2.

However, before going on to discuss semantic and pragmatic evidence for paragraphs, it should be noted that even though prosodic features of texts such as pitch movement are discussed in terms of text structuring in this section, these features have a much greater variety of uses and functions which are beyond the scope of this study. One example of such use is presented here to illustrate this as it is common to both languages.

In Swahili narratives and procedural texts, the use of prolonged vowels with a high pitch is used to convey intensity of distance or size.

(6) a. *ndo tu-ka-chukua sufuriya langu* |
indeed SM1PL-SUBS-take 5.pot 5POSS1SG
'indeed then we took my pot,'

b. *lile kubwa la pilau lile*
5.DEMIII 5.big 5.CONN pilau 5.DEMIII
'that big one for pilau'

In example (6) from a Swahili recipe, the speaker refers to a pot which is bigger than usual, specifically used for cooking *pilau*.[1] The vowel /u/ in *kubwa* 'big' (in (6b)) is extended and pronounced with an unusually high pitch to indicate that the pot is very large. This has been noted also by Van der Wal (2010) with respect to Makhuwa demonstratives signalling something which is particularly far away, and it was confirmed in many cases of interactions with Makhuwa speakers in Pemba who make use of this feature frequently.

[1]Typical East African rice dish of Indian origins cooked with spices.

7.2.2 Semantic-pragmatic evidence

As discussed in Chapter 4 Section 4.2, prosodic patterns which reveal the text structure are often accompanied by semantic-pragmatic evidence. Therefore, in this section we present some of the strategies used in the studied text.

One type of such discourse devices for text structuring is the use of certain established phrases, calling for the attention of the listener and moving the text forward. In Swahili, examples include phrases such as *basi* 'so, that's it', *halafu* 'then, afterwards' or *eeh* 'right, (agreeing sound)'. They often constitute a separate intonation unit and are accompanied by an appropriate intonation pattern when they signal a paragraph or IS boundary. This has also been noted by Maw (1992) in her study of a Swahili narrative. She makes the following remarks on the use of *basi* and *eeh*: "(...) sometimes they mark the end of a section (...) equivalent of paragraphing in a written text, (...) I would regard them as a form of oral punctuation" (Maw 1992:12).

In Makhuwa an equivalent function is often fulfilled by the locative demonstratives *vano* and *vale* as discussed by Van der Wal (2010) (see Section 5.5.1). There is also the word *paasi* or *paahi* - the Makhuwa counterpart of the Swahili word *basi* 'so'- which has, however, a different use in Makhuwa texts. Rather than opening a new paragraph, it is used most commonly found at the end of narratives, especially folk stories, signalling the completeness of what is being told (examples (7) and (8)).

(7) (...) *paasi vaavo, paasi vaavo.*
enough 16.RED.DEMII enough 16.RED.DEMII
'(...) this is it (lit.: enough here, enough here).'

(8) (...) *paahi, phu-mal-aka vaavo.*
enough NARR-finish-DUR 16.RED.DEMII
'(...) enough, it finishes here.'

As paragraphs are characterised by unity of time, location and participants, the introduction of a new paragraph is often marked by adverbial phrases, setting a new location or time. Examples often found in the texts include Swahili phrases such as *Wakati* (...) or *Mara* (...) 'When/At the time of (...)'. These elements can also combine with other

types of phrases mentioned earlier such as in example (9) from a Swahili recipe. Here the new paragraph is introduced by *basi* 'so' and *wakati* 'when'.

(9) *Basi wakati nyama i-li-po-kuwa tayari (...)*
so time 9.meat SM9-PST-OM16-be ready
'So when the meat was ready (...)'

In the recorded folktales, narrators make abundant use of so-called tail-head linking structures, i.e. linkage of the final sentence of one paragraph to the initial sentence of the following (Longacre 1968:8) (Longacre 1968: 8). This is when a phrase or clause at the end of a paragraph gets repeated at the beginning of the following one. The use of this discourse strategy therefore serves as an important cohesive device, and at the same time helps with structuring of the text by signalling paragraph boundaries. Its use and relevance also in Bantu discourse has been noted by Van der Wal (2010) in accounting for the use of Makhuwa demonstratives, as discussed in section 5.5.1. Two examples (10) and (11) of tail-head linkage from the Swahili folktale about the hare and the leopard are presented below.

(10) a. (...) *a-ka-mw-ach-ia rafiki y-ake | a-ka-rudi*
SM1-SUBS-OM1-leave-APPL 1.friend 9-POSS.1 SM1-SUBS-return
tena ||
again
'(...) and then he left his friend, and came back.'

b. *a-li-po-rudi tena | a-ka-m-kutana huyu rafiki*
SM1-PST-OM16-return again SM1-SUBS-OM1-meet 1.DEMI 9.friend
yake | (...)
9-POSS.1
'When he came back, he then met that friend of his (...)'

(11) a. *ku-sema kwamba sungura a-ka-mw-ona pale |*
INF-say that hare SM1-SUBS-OM1-see 16.DEMIII
a-ka-toka ||
SM1-SUBS-leave
'to say that hare then saw him there, and left'

b. *a-li-po-toka | a-ka-enda kwa rafiki y-ake |*
SM1-PST-OM16-leave SM1-SUBS-go by 9.friend 9-POSS.1
'When he left, he then went to his friend'

In the Swahili examples (10) and (11), the speaker also uses tense and temporal markers to separate the paragraphs. The last phrase of the paragraph in both cases is marked with the subsecutive tense marker *-ka-* (10a) and (11a). This therefore signals that this action follows on from previous actions. When the verbal phrase is repeated at the beginning of the next paragraph (10b) and (11b), the simple past tense marker *-li-* is used – indicating the start of a new set of actions, rather than a continuation. The verb forms are also marked with the temporal/locative referential marker *-po-* which provides anaphoric temporal linkage, yielding the meaning 'when he came back' in (10b) and 'when he left' in (11b). This therefore indicates a change of time in the story, typical of a paragraph boundary. A similar Makhuwa example (12) of tail-head linking is taken from the beginning of the Pear Story.

(12) a. *tootho phaa-ho-kol-ennye ntsulu-mmwe* |
again NARR-PST.DJ-return-3SG 18.up-18.DEMIII
'again he returned up there'

b. *wiira a-carih-e e-neeraru* ||
COMP SM1-fill-SBJV 9-third
'to fill the third one'

c. *w-aa-weel-ennye ntsulu-nmwe* |
NARR-PST.REL-go.up-3SG 18.up-18.DEMIII
'When he went up there'

d. *wiira a-carih-e e-neeraru* |
COMP SM1-fill-SBJV 9-third
'to fill the third one'

Similarly to the Swahili examples (10) and (11), n the Makhuwa example (12) the speaker also links the last part of a paragraph – (12a) and (12b) – to the following one by repeating a portion of the text - in this case the narrator repeats the last event 'the man going back up the tree to fill the third basket' – (12c) and (12d).

7.2.3 Genres

As far as the discourse properties discussed in Section 7.2 go, no fundamental differences were found between narrative and procedural texts recorded for this study (the

texts include folk stories, the retelling of the Pear Story and recipes). Paragraphs in stories linked to, for example, a change of time, participant or location have their equivalent in recipes where a new paragraph might describe the next phase in the cooking process (change of time/location) or the preparation of different ingredients (change of participants). Among the recorded texts which had quite different discourse feature are the descriptions of the MPI videos. This is however an expected consequence due to, firstly, the staged nature of the events (see also Section 2.2.1), although this is also true for the Pear story. Mostly, the differences are due to the length of the texts. Most of the MPI videos last less than a minute and their descriptions include only a couple of sentences. There is thus less space for complex internal text structure. However, some general features such as final falling pitch to signal completeness are found here too.

Aside from differences in genres, the way texts are structured varies greatly between those which were recorded as telling or retelling of stories and recipes etc. and those which represent a commentary to an on-going video (as explained in Section 2.2.1). This, too, is to be expected, as the latter are not planned in the speaker's mind but are rather an evolving discourse responding to present time stimuli. However, this does not mean that these kinds of texts do not exhibit any signs of internal structure, as here again some general features such as terminal intonation contours are present. However, the portion of texts determined by these pitch contour patterns are shorter in this type of 'commentary' genre. Intonation Sentences appear more relevant than paragraphs, as pitch patterns in commentary texts demarcate a few IUs together into ISs but any larger chunks are less clear. Semantic-pragmatic markers can contribute to splitting the text into paragraphs, but adverbial phrases such as *wakati* or *mara* are also used significantly less here. Considering again the limited familiarity with the narrative on the part of the speaker, as the development of the story/scene is unknown, these patterns seem a logical consequence.

7.3 Referential density

In this section, Bickel's (2003) concept of Referential Density (RD) is applied to Makhuwa and Swahili texts to see whether the (non)availability of certain referring expression in the language (in this case the OM) is reflected in this measurement.

As explained in Section 4.4.2, RD is the ratio of overt to possible argument NPs. To measure this ratio, all available argument positions in the clause are contrasted with how many of them are actually realised by an overt NP. This not only includes full lexical NPs but any other anaphoric expression such as pronouns or subject and object markers.

Therefore, as a first step in the present study, the number of possible arguments was calculated for each clause in a text. Subsequently, if the identified argument was expressed at all either by a full lexical NP, any type of pronoun, a SM or OM or any combination of these, the argument was considered overtly present. If, however, the referent was omitted, this was counted as an unexpressed argument. The discrepancy between the number of identified possible arguments and the number of overtly realised ones is expressed by the calculated RD ratio. Below is a sample from one of the Swahili texts (13) to exemplify the RD calculation method used in this study.

(13) a. *a-na-zi-fungua* *ndizi* | (2/2)
SM1-PRS-OM10-open 10.banana
'He opens bananas'

b. *a-na-menya* | (1/2)
SM1-PRS-peel
'he peels them'

c. *a-na-kula* | (1/2)
SM1-PRS-eat
'he eats them'

d. *chini a-na-tupa* *ma-ganda* | (2/2)
down SM1-PRS-throw 6-peel
'down he throws the peels'

Each line represents a clause with the IU boundaries marked by the | symbol. In the second column we find the RD calculation for that clause. The first number is the

amount of overtly expressed arguments, while the second number indicates the argument positions licensed by the verb in the clause. For example, in (13b) the second number is 2 as there are two argument positions; the verb *menya* 'peel' takes a subject and an object. The first number, however, is 1 as only the subject is overtly expressed by the SM on the verb. The object (*ndizi* 'bananas') is not present but is understood from the preceding context. After coding each clause in this way, the values from the individual clauses are added up, resulting in the total amount of argument positions and the total amount of expressed arguments for the whole text. Finally, the second figure is divided by the first to yield the RD value for that text. So, if, for example, the text has 57 expressed arguments but 82 argument positions, the RD value for that text will be 57/82 = 0.7[2].

In example (13) it is possible to see why, unlike Bickel (2003) (see Section 4.4.2), in this study SMs and OMs were included as overtly expressing a referent. Example (13) shows an SM being used as an anaphoric expression of an argument and thus denoting the referent. Example (14) below is a similar example with an OM. In (14b) the OM *-ni-* denotes the primary object 'me'.

(14) a. *we* *u-na-kula* *ndizi* | (2/2)
2SG.PRON SM2SG-PRS-eat 10.banana
'you, you eat bananas'

b. *u-na-ni-tup-ia* *ma-ganda* | (3/3)
SM2SG-PRS-OM1SG-throw-APPL 6-peel
'you throw me peels'

Considering anaphoric SMs and OMs as one of the ways arguments of verbs can be realised in Bantu languages has also been applied by Bearth (2003: 122).

Another aspect of the coding regards complement clauses and their value as participants. Although complement clauses were counted as separate clauses, they were not considered as participants in the larger matrix sentence they belonged to, following the practice of Thompson & Hopper (2001).

[2]Referential density values are shown in this format in accordance with Bickel's (2003) original study. This further allows an easy comparison with the RD values of the languages studied within Bickel's research.

(15) a. *Kwa hiyo a-na-jua* | (1/1)
for 9.DEMII SM1-PRS-know
'Therefore he knows'

b. *kwamba ki-kapu ki-moja ki-me-ibi-wa* | (1/1)
that 7-basket 7-one 7-PRF-steal-PASS
'that one basket was stolen'

The complement clause (15b) was counted as a clause but not as the object of *ana-jua* 'he knows' (15a). As each clause was coded separately, it would otherwise result in the main clause (15a) not having an overtly expressed argument or saying that the argument is in a separate clause, which would present complications for the final calculation. Moreover, as Krifka noted for Swahili: "Sentential complements neither show object agreement nor undergo passivization" (Krifka 1995: 1400). Thus, as this did not impact the main research questions, it was rather a case of finding a practical method and applying it consistently.

As Bickel (2003) notes, there is considerable variation in the RD ratio across languages. However, it is less clear what the different factors are which determine such variation. As a concrete example of RD values, the Himalayan languages and their RD ratios studied by Bickel (2003) are presented below. At the same time, the RD ratios serve as a means of comparison with the Makhuwa and Swahili values presented in Section 7.3. Bickel's (2003) RDs of these languages are in fact average values calculated on the bases of around 10 texts studied for each language and their individual RD values.

Bickel (2003) found a correlation between the differences in RD values of these three Himalayan languages and the presence of constructions heavily based on case in the languages. More specifically, Bickel observed that the higher the number of case-sensitive 'privileged syntactic arguments' (PSAs) in the studied languages, the higher the RD for that language will be. Hence, the high value for Maithili may be due to the significant amount of case constructions where "(...) case is a crucial ingredient of controller definition. Prominence in argument structure alone does not suffice and fails to predict the form of agreement morphology" (Bickel 2003: 713). See Bickel (2003)

and the summary in Section 4.4.2 for a more detailed discussion.

In setting out to compare Makhuwa and Swahili RD ratios, certain expectations were also formulated. These were based on the premise that a language with high occurrence of zero anaphora, and therefore of subject or object ellipsis, will result in a very low RD value. Therefore, in regards to Makhuwa and Swahili this resulted in the following hypothesis:

> 1. If Makhuwa is said to freely omit objects interpretable from the context, while in Swahili object ellipsis is not considered very common (but subject marking is said to be obligatory in both languages and therefore should not influence the RD value), Makhuwa would be expected to have a lower RD than Swahili.

Considering Makhuwa and Swahili RD values in the light of the above formulated hypothesis helps answering the research question of whether objects can be omitted in the two languages and also contributes to the overall picture of the discourse properties of these languages. Moreover, as here all arguments of the verb are considered participants, the RD values set a good starting point for the study of participant tracking in Makhuwa and Swahili.

7.3.1 Referential density: pilot study

Before presenting the wider results of the study of RD for Makhuwa and Swahili, an overview of an initial pilot study is discussed here. It is important to understand the sequence of steps taken in this study, as these help to fully explain the results reached. In the initial pilot study, RD values were calculated for the Pear Story text only, following Bickel's (2003) example. The numbers obtained are presented in Table 7.1:

These initial results, although based on a very small sample, confirmed the hypothesis that Makhuwa appears to have a lower RD than Swahili, with a difference of 0.21 between the two values. By comparison, the difference between the language with the

Language	RD
Makhuwa	0.70
Swahili	0.91

Table 7.1: Pilot study: Referential Density results for The Pear Story

lowest RD (Belhare) and the one with the highest (Maithili) in Bickel's (2003) study is also 0.21.

7.3.2 Referential density: wider results

The next step after an initial survey of the Pear Story texts was to include a wider variety of genres and text types and examine their RD values. The results from the Swahili texts are presented first.

Text	RD
Recipe	0.91
MPI videos	0.92
Pear Story	0.91
Folk story	0.96
Average	0.93

Table 7.2: Swahili referential density values

In Table 7.2 values for different Swahili texts can noted. Aside from the Pear Story already presented, a recipe, a folk story and a description of the MPI videos have been included. As these texts are narrated by different speakers this also encompasses a greater variety of speakers' styles which could potentially influence the RD value of a given text.

The survey of the results in the table indicates a relatively high RD average for Swahili corresponding to a value of 0.93. Considering the way participants are referred to in a text, such a result could be interpreted as showing that overt expressions are commonly used to refer to participants in Swahili texts.

As with Swahili, the referential density value has been calculated for a corresponding Makhuwa sample.

Text	RD
recipe	0.67
MPI videos	0.86
Pear Story	0.70
folk story	0.89
Average	0.78

Table 7.3: Makhuwa referential density values

The RD values obtained for the Makhuwa texts show a greater variety than was registered for the corresponding Swahili data. This could be due to both a variety in speakers' personal narrative styles as well as difference in genres. It is noteworthy that even though the Makhuwa values are not as consistent as the Swahili ones, some common patterns can be found. Namely, in both languages the folk story seems to have the highest referential density, while the recipe and the retelling of The Pear Story are on the lower end of the RD value scale. Although the corresponding texts in the two languages were selected to have a roughly similar amount of argument positions so to make the resulting proportions of how many of these arguments were expressed comparable, the sample is too small to draw any generalisation about the languages. The pilot study is intended only as an initial starting point for the deeper qualitative analysis of the following chapters. A bigger sample is therefore needed to explore the relationship between genre types and referential density as well as to obtain any significant values to draw general conclusion on the respective languages.

Despite the varied values, the overall average of 0.78 would seem to confirm the expectations that Makhuwa displays a lower referential density in its texts than Swahili. Without a deeper analysis of the referent tracking strategies one could assume that the preliminary hypothesis has therefore been confirmed that in Makhuwa objects can be freely omitted and therefore less arguments are expressed overtly resulting in a low

RD overall. However, as is shown in the next chapter, it is in fact the lack of subject marking in Makhuwa texts that affects greatly the final RD values. In addition, it will also be shown that although object ellipsis does in fact occur in Makhuwa, this phenomenon is also found in Swahili (although less frequently). In Chapter 8, different patterns and specific examples of referent tracking in Makhuwa and Swahili texts are therefore presented to explore the significance of the RD values beyond this initial hypothesis. This will complete the conclusions from the RD pilot study to answer fully the research question of whether objects can be completely omitted in Makhuwa and Swahili. The question also remains of whether the fact that only a very limited group of nouns can be object marked in Makhuwa relates to its use of object ellipsis and therefore potentially partly affects its RD and discourse strategies in general, as asked in the initial research questions. This link to object marking is thus explored in more detail in Chapter 9.

It is also worth noting that in comparison with the languages studied by Bickel, the two Bantu languages - Makhuwa and Swahili - have substantially higher RD values. As the languages from the two studies are not related, it would be difficult to draw any conclusions on whether any grammatical differences interact with the referential density. Nevertheless, the preliminary impression is that Bantu languages (as much as Makhuwa and Swahili can be representative of this family) are among the relatively 'hot' languages requiring less active recipient involvement because information density is higher (see Section 4.4.2 for a longer explanation of Bickel's metaphor). The rich verbal morphology which includes subject and object marking (and their anaphoric function) could be one of the properties contributing to this 'heat'. In either case, the fact that among the five languages available for comparison here there is such a great variation in RD values points to the need for further study of this topic and the inclusion of more languages. The variation seen here raises questions on what kind of parameters might be influencing it and how much the discourse strategies of a language, rather than structural differences such as morphosyntax, might be behind this variation, if at all.

Before moving onto the study of the participant tracking patterns in Chapter 8,

several observations are made on issues that emerged during the calculation of the referential density.

7.3.3 Referential density: lessons learned

In applying the concept of referential density to the study of discourse of Bantu languages, certain difficulties were encountered which are worth noting for future research. As can be expected from the many complicated matters connected to argument structure discussed so far, issues start emerging as soon as each clause needs to be coded with an exact number value. In calculating the number of expressed to possible arguments, certain decisions had to be taken to maintain a coherent methodology. But as the theory behind some of the examples is less than clear cut, some of the issues are taken up in more detail in the following paragraphs.

As mentioned in Section 3.4, the discrepancies between semantic and syntactic transitivity of verbs and the ambiguous status of certain arguments poses a challenge for the exact counting of the arguments in a clause (both overt and omitted). This therefore became even more apparent when calculating the RD of texts. As a way of resolving this issue, the overall 'rule' became to count an argument position wherever there was any evidence for that possible argument. In the case of overt arguments this was of course simple and straightforward. In the more complex case of omitted arguments, however, I looked for evidence elsewhere. This meant finding out whether an alternative structure with the same verb but with the argument expressed was possible, and preferably used by the same speaker, elsewhere in the text. To exemplify this strategy, the case of unspecified objects and infinitive narrative tenses are explained.

Below is example (16) from the description of MPI videos by a Makhuwa speaker. The focus here is on the verb *-akawa* 'serve'. When it occurs in line (16b) it could be understood as a transitive verb with an unspecified object and the counting of the object as omitted could be controversial. The same would be true for the English equivalent of this utterance: 'He serves another time'. However, if the surrounding context is examined, the verb is found in the preceding clause occurring with the corresponding

object *eyoolya* ‘food’ (16a). The following clause (16b) can therefore be identified as an example of unexpressed argument with a greater degree of certainty.

(16) a. *n-thiyana a-naa-kawa e-yoolya mu-nkhuki-ni*
1-girl SM1-PRS.DJ-serve 9-food 18-plate-LOC
‘The girl is serving food into the plate.’

b. *a-naa-kawa tootho*
SM1-PRS.DJ-serve again
‘She serves again.’

Another challenge in the counting of expressed arguments was the mismatch between prosodic and syntactic portioning of a text, i.e. considering IUs versus clauses. This is because in some cases, the argument was expressed, but the referring expression was in a different IU than the verb form, as shown in (17).

(17) *Wakati wa-ki-m-rejesh-ea | kofia* (...)
time SM2-SIT-OM1-returnCAUS-APPL 9.hat
‘When they were returning him the hat (...)’

In this example (17) from the Swahili retelling of the Pear Story, one of the arguments, *kofia* ‘hat’, is in a different intonation unit separated by the rest of the predicate *wakim-rejeshea* ‘they returned to him’. If one considered the prosodic boundaries as crucial in determining the units for RD, the IU *Wakati wakimrejeshea* would result as having two out of three arguments expressed. The subject ‘they’ is expressed by the SM on the verb, the direct object ‘him’ is denoted by the OM on the verb, but the secondary object ‘hat’ is omitted. If, however, we look at the clause as a whole, regardless of prosodic boundaries, the last argument is present, expressed by a full lexical NP. Even though this study examines the tracking of reference while taking into account IUs as basic units of discourse, the RD has been calculated in terms of arguments present in the clause. That is, for the present example, *kofia* ‘hat’ is counted as an expressed argument of the predicate *-rejeshea* ’return something to someone’. This is because the presence itself of the referring expression was valued as more indicative for the calculation of RD than its position within the prosodic structure of the text. In other

words, the RD value here expresses the density of referents related to a given predicate even if the referring expression is outside of the prosodic domain of the verb.

This is, however, an interesting element as it shows the concept of RD as one linked to the syntactic properties of the languages, making reference to the arguments licensed by the verb. Nonetheless, as RD examines a certain aspect of the discourse of a language, it would be interesting to take IUs - the basic discourse unit - as the domain of RD calculations and see how this affects the RD values. This is relevant, for example, in an utterance such as (17) above. An argument expressed in a separate IU following the clause has sometimes been described as an 'afterthought' (Truckenbrodt 2007) (although it could be also a case of right dislocation). This could hypothetically indicate a need on the part of the speaker to specify an argument for disambiguation which was initially omitted, and in doing so, increase the RD. Therefore, this link between the RD values and the prosodic portioning of a text remains to be studied.

Another difficulty in the coding stems from the ambivalent status of locatives as arguments of the verb in Bantu (see Section 3.4.2). Without going again into the details of this discussion, here, the way locative elements were finally treated in the RD measurements is presented.

The reasoning behind the identification of locative arguments vs. adjuncts in this study is based on usage patterns in the texts. To decide whether a verb has a locative argument in in its argument structure, I looked for other occurrences of the verb in the collected data or alternatively in the elicited examples. This method is explained using example (18) as an illustration.

(18) *A-li-ya-weka ma-tunda katika vi-kapu*
SM1-PST-OM6-put 6-fruit in 8-basket
'He put the fruit in the baskets.'

If the example (18) was considered in isolation, for instance, one could decide to count the locative element as an adjunct introduced by a preposition. However, when looking further in the texts, another example with the same verb *weka* 'put' (and in fact also the exact same participants) is found, and in this case it shows a different pattern (19).

(19) *A-li-ku-weka* *katika vi-kapu*
SM1-PST-OM17-put in 8-basket
'He put (it) in the baskets.'

Here, the locative element *katika vikapu* 'in the baskets' is still in a PP but it is also object marked on the verb. Considering that it is exactly the strategy of reference by object marking that is relevant for this study and, in addition, that a locative seems to be semantically selected by the verb *weka* 'put', the locative was treated as an argument.

Certain tense-aspect forms such as the narrative also sometimes posed a challenge for the counting of arguments due to their 'partly non-finite status'. Both in Makhuwa and in Swahili, the narrative has the same form as the infinitive. The choice of counting the narrative form on its own as omitting the subject, even though a subject can technically not be marked by a SM as with other verb forms, is explained in detail in Chapter 8 on the coding of referents. More generally, it follows the overarching direction of considering as important the choice of a speaker to omit an argument (or its marking) when an alternative explicitly expressing the argument was possible. In the case of the narrative this would be, for example, the use of a conjugated verb form in the present or past tense instead.

To summarise, so far we have observed that both Makhuwa and Swahili speakers give a complex internal structure to their texts using prosodic as well as semantic and pragmatic devices. In addition, a difference has been found in the amount of explicit referring expressions used to refer to participants in narratives in the two languages. While the sample of Swahili texts in this study shows a high density of overt referring expressions, the Makhuwa sample has a lower referential density suggesting a higher occurrence of argument ellipsis. Whether this difference in the referential density measured for this sample has any correlation with the structural differences between the two languages is examined in Chapter 8, where a closer look is taken at the individual referent tracking patterns found in the texts While Chapter 9 explores more specifically the link between these patterns, as well as RD values, and the variation in the OM paradigms of Makhuwa and Swahili.

Chapter 8

Coding of referents in Makhuwa and Swahili texts

8.1 Introduction

In order to create as complete a picture as possible of the ways objects are referred to in Makhuwa and Swahili discourse, this chapter describes the overall referent tracking paradigms found in the studied texts. Various patterns of referent coding which emerged in the texts are described, and a number of factors are considered which could account for the choice of a particular expression in a given place in the discourse. Firstly, the paradigm of referring expressions surveyed in Chapters 5 and 6 is contrasted with the forms actually found in the data. Following this, discourse factors such as the activation status of referents, the weight of their phonological coding and text structuring are taken into consideration in trying to account for the use of specific referring expressions. Lastly, a summary is presented of the observations on referent tracking in Makhuwa and Swahili texts made in this study.

Taking into consideration the restricted sample of Makhuwa and Swahili data analysed for this study, the resulting patterns reflect only the language use of the consulted speakers (influenced by their age, gender, education, etc.) and are not said to represent either of the languages in a statistically significant way. These patterns, however,

indicate interesting and sometimes surprising tendencies, stressing the importance of further research in these directions.

8.2 Referring expressions paradigms

In the following paragraphs, the paradigms of referring expressions for Makhuwa and Swahili identified in Chapters 5 and 6 are adjusted according to the patterns found in the studied texts. The background information obtained in the literature is contrasted here with the actual occurrence of referring expressions in our data. This is to complete the paradigms with additional features found to affect the referent tracking systems in the languages. In this way, the participants tracking strategies in the two languages can be better described and understood, as we set out to do in our research questions in Chapter 1.

The referring expressions considered in previous chapters, namely full lexical NPs, personal and demonstrative pronouns, and subject and object markers, were all encountered in our texts and will be considered within the referent tracking paradigm. In table 8.1 below we can see a list of all the different ways in which participants were expressed in the studied Makhuwa and Swahili texts. This thus includes also the different combinations of referring expressions (such as OM+PRON, i.e. an object marker co-occurring with a self-standing pronoun), as well as the option to omit an argument all together, as is the case with 'object ellipsis' category. A closer look at the frequency of each of these expressions in the studied texts and a description of the different environments where these expressions can be found has been done for object participants, the focus of this study, and is presented in Chapter 9. In the remain of this chapter some general issues are highlighted instead which form the basis for our study of object participants.

NP
PRON
SM
OM
POSS
NP+SM
NP+DEM
NP+POSS
NP+POSS+DEM
PRON+SM
OM+NP
OM+PRON
OM+NP+DEM
Object ellipsis

Table 8.1: List of used referring expressions (and other ways to denote participants)

Firstly, three types of expressions that appear on the list are described in more detail, namely subject markers, possessives and object ellipsis. This is because during the study of Makhuwa and Swahili texts new patterns have emerged connected to these expressions which need to be taken into account.

8.2.1 Subject Marker (SM)

The mention of SM in combination with another referring expression, as in the case of NP+SM to refer to a subject, might seem redundant. As subject marking is obligatory, one would expect that with every referring expression denoting a subject, the SM would occur automatically. As discussed in the following paragraphs, however, in this study certain verb forms were considered not to have any subject marking (see narrative infinitive further down). Listing NP+SM as a way to refer to a subject participant was therefore necessary so to contrast with instances of only NP (for subjects).

Thus, let us now consider the omission of subject marking found in Makhuwa and Swahili texts mentioned above. Even though this study is focused on objects, expressions used to denote other arguments are just as important in understanding the discourse strategies of a language as a whole. Subjects turned out to be far more relevant

for the study of zero-anaphora than expected. Both in Makhuwa and Swahili, subjects can be expressed in a variety of ways: from lexical NPs to pronouns and SMs. As SMs are considered close to obligatory for both languages, no great variation in the subject marking on verbs was expected, unlike the (non-)occurrence of object marking. Yet, as already briefly mentioned in the previous chapter on RD, verbal forms such as the narrative present a further complexity in the choices speakers make in tracking referents in discourse.

8.2.1.1 Narrative infinitive

The variety of Makhuwa Meeto recorded in this study appears to show a different narrative tense paradigm from Makhuwa Enhara as described in Van der Wal (2009). In Makhuwa Enhara, the narrative tense exists in two conjugations: the perfect and the imperfect.

(1) a. narrative: (*k*)*hú*-VB-*a*

b. narrative imperfective: (*k*)*húya*-VB-*a* (Van der Wal 2009:90)

Both have a distinctive prefix which does not change according to the subject but remains fixed regardless of the subject's noun class, person or number.

(2) *khú-kúm-ih-érá* *maárw' áalé*
NARR-exit-CAUS-APPL 6.ears 6.DEMIII
'And he stuck out his ears.' (Van der Wal 2009:101)

Therefore, a verb in the narrative tense does not mark the subject. Makhuwa Meeto exhibits the same phenomenon in this sense, as the narrative marker does not change according to the subject but remains fixed here too. As for the form, however, not only does the narrative look different compared to Makhuwa Enhara but it has the same prefix as the infinite. In this respect, it resembles Cuwabo, where the narrative verb form has exactly the same morphological shape as the infinitive, but exhibits a different tone pattern (Guérois 2015: 404-408). In Makhuwa Meeto both the infinitive and the

narrative have the prefix *o-*. Due the identical form of these two functions, it will be referred to as narrative infinitive (NI), following Nikolaeva's (2014) terminology and associated behavioral features of this category discussed at the end of this section. The narrative infinitive is often used when recounting a sequence of events (3), similarly to corresponding uses in Makhuwa Enhara and Cuwabo.

(3) a. *Mi k-aa-rw-ale o-maka, ntsana o-maka,*
1SG.PRON SM1SG-PST-go-PRF.DJ 14-beach yesterday 14-beach
o-vara e-khope ts-aka
NARR.INF-pick 10-clam 10-POSS1SG
'I went to the beach, yesterday to the beach, I picked my clams.'

b. *o-wiiha owaani-'nno, o-kesa, o-khuneela*
NARR.INF-bring 17.home-17.DEMI NARR.INF-shuck NARR.INF-cover
'I brought them home there, I shucked them, I covered them.'

The narrative infinitive often occurs in an environment where the time of the event has already been established in the preceding context. Guérois (2015) describes the same for the occurrence of the narrative in Cuwabo.

> "In a sequence of events, the narrative is in principle not used as the first verb. Instead it is common that the first verb form(s) be marked for past tense to establish the time frame. Only once the time is established may the successive events be presented via unmarked forms in the narrative. In this sense the narrative is a dependent verb form whose deictic center is determined by the tense of a verb form previously mentioned in the linguistic context" (Guérois 2015:405).

In this study, the narrative infinitive acts as an important element in terms of its lack of subject marking. An analogy can be made to the above quoted explanation of the set time frame needed for the use of this tense in discussing a required 'subject frame'. It appears that the narrative infinitive is mostly used when a subject has already been established by a verb form in the immediately preceding discourse and the subsequent events are carried out by the same participant. This makes narratives infinitives not only anaphoric in terms of tense, but also in terms of participants, or, to adapt Guérois's

(2015) wording, 'a dependent verb form whose deictic center is determined by the SUBJECT of a verb form previously mentioned in the linguistic context'. Below is example (4) from Swahili, which exhibits exactly the same narrative infinitive pattern as Makhuwa Meeto. While in the first clause the verb is in the present tense (4a), in the second clause the continuation of events are expressed by the use of the narrative infinitive by the prefix *ku-* (4b).

(4) a. *A-na-nyanyua nyundo* |
SM1-PRS-lift 9.hammer
'She raises the hammer'

b. *na ku-i-achia juu ya sahani.*
and NARR.INF-OM9-let.go on CONN 9.plate
'she drops it on the plate' (lit:lets it go onto the plate)

In other words, the narrative infinitive which does not mark the subject seems to only be used if the speaker assumes that the subject is clear from the context. In this sense this process is not so dissimilar from the omission of another argument such as the object. Regarding the (non-)subject marking of the narrative, Guérois (2015: 407) makes the following observation for Cuwabo, followed by an example from a story she recorded (5).

> "In a sequence of events expressed by the narrative tense, it may happen that the subject of the subsequent verbs is different from one clause to another. In this case, the change of subject is usually indicated by the addition of a pronoun (...), although this is not systematic (...)"

(5) *o-ttamága o-ttawá áwéene o-mu-tamelá o-mu-tamelá*
NARR-run NARR-flee 3PL.PRO NARR-OM1-look.for NARR-OM1-look.for
'Mr.Hare ran and fled. They looked for him.'

(Guérois 2015: 407)

Nikolaeva (2014), in her discussion of French and Latin narrative infinitives, demonstrates compelling evidence (such as participation in passive construction, or co-occurrence with postposed topics) for the NP preceding a narrative infinitive verb form

to be subjects, concluding that narrative infinitives are 'canonical subject-predicate structures' (Nikolaeva 2014: 146). However, just as with other subjects, Nikolaeva (2014) notes subject nominals of narrative infinitives can be dropped and retrieved from preceding context. She further shows the context-dependent time anchoring of narrative infinitives in French and Latin - similarly to that which Guérois (2015) shows for Cuwabo. Because of this time framing dependency, French narrative infinitives never start a text (Nikolaeva 2014), something that was found to be true also for narrative infinitive structures in Makhuwa and Swahili.

Nikolaeva (2014) also explores the participation of narrative infinitives in the expression of information structure, especially in topic-comment structures. This is confirmed by the majority of definite subjects (which tend to be topical) occurring with narrative infinitives in a French corpus study. Nikolaeva's (2014) example of the possibility of unexpressed topical subject with narrative infinitives closely resembles structures found in our texts.

(6) a. *L'enfant a fait un caprice. Et de*
DEF.child have.PRS.3SG make.PRTC.PST INDF tantrum and of
pleurer.
cry.NARR.INF
'The child threw a tantrum'

b. *Et de crier. Et de taper les pieds.*
and of scream-NARR.INF and of stamp-NARR.INF DEF.PL foot
'He started crying, screaming and stamping his feet.'

(Nikolaeva 2014:156)

To summarise, in this study narrative infinite verb forms were coded as not marking the subject on the verb and therefore, in the absence of other referring expressions such as an NP or a pronoun, as zero-anaphora. If a clause with a narrative infinitive verb form and no other element denoting the subject was taken in isolation, it would be impossible to determine the identity of the subject. It is therefore dependent on the context and the speaker relies on the subject participant being clear from the previous discourse, as has been argued for object omission. The decision to code an infinitival form for

subject marking despite its assumed non-finiteness is further supported by research of this narrative type in other languages, such as Nikolaeva's (2014) work on French and Latin. "The systematic distinction between INF and NARR-INF types concerns their morphosyntactic features and associated values in the domain of semantics and valence" (Nikolaeva 2014: 165). In Nikolaeva's analysis: "(...)finiteness is not defined by inflectional morphology: the verbal form is finite if it is associated with relevant functional information (valence)" (Nikolaeva 2014: 175). Finally, it is interesting to note at this point that Makhuwa and Swahili infinitives already exhibit a degree of inflectional morphology unusual for non-finite forms, namely object marking as shown in the following examples: (7-9) for Swahili and (10) for Makhuwa.

(7) a. *wa-na-m-saidia ku-kusanya ma-tunda yale* |
SM2-PRS-OM1-help INF-collect 6-fruit 6DEMIII
'They help him to pick up that fruit'

b. *na ku-ya-rej-esha katika ki-kapu.*
and INF-OM6-return-CAUS in 7-basket
'and to return them in the basket'

(8) a. *Tu-ka-u-weka pembeni* |
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-put aside
'We then put it aside' (about rice)

b. *na ku-u-chambua vizuri*
and NARR.INF-OM3-prepare well
'and then we prepare it well'

(9) a. *tu-ka-anza ku-vi-kanga* |
SM1PL-SUBS-start INF-OM8-fry
'Then we started to fry them' (about onions)

b. *tu-ka-vi-kanga mpaka kama vi-me-lainika hivi*
SM1PL-SUBS-OM8-fry until like SM8-PRF-be.soft in.this.way
'and then we fried them until they are soft like this'

(10) *waa-rw-aaya o-n-maha e-kofiyo*
NARR-go-2.POSS INF-OM1-give 9-hat
'When they went to give him the hat'

In all the examples above, regardless of the type of construction the infinitive forms occurs in, an object is marked on the infinitive by means of object marking. Moreover,

in all the examples, the object NP is omitted and it is referred to only by the OM, further exemplifying the anaphoric use of OMs in discourse.

8.2.2 Possessives

The next consideration is the inclusion of possessive pronouns in the list (although found only in combination with other expressions). One could argue that possessive pronouns add a semantic meaning (one of possession) to the referring expression and are therefore - as far as referent tracking goes - in the same position as, for example, adjectives, as they can further specify the NP but do not interact with the anaphoric function of the referring expression. Based on the occurrences in our text, however, possessive pronouns sometimes appear to have a similar distribution to demonstratives in the sense that their use can vary from 'exophoric deictic expression' to a more 'endophoric anaphoric use'. This is often found more specifically in recipe texts recorded in both studied languages. To exemplify this pattern, consider the following analogies from recipes in English.[1]

(11) Now, we'll take **our** casserole dish, put a little marinara sauce in the bottom, put in **our** chicken,(...)

(12) So, we can use that filling now to put inside **our** tortillas.

(13) Put again **our** large saucepan on to a medium heat and we're gonna put in **our** ground beef, **our** onions, **our** garlic, and **our** lovely colourful green pepper.

In the sentences presented above *our* is not used to express personal deixis or to indicate possessive meaning. In fact, if we consider that the speaker is instructing the hearer, it is probably not true that either the casserole dish or the chicken are in their shared possession. The possessive pronoun is used rather as a way of referring to elements already mentioned in the previous discourse. This is therefore the type of example considered in this study. The ways in which possessive pronouns are used

[1] All extracts are taken from the transcription of video recipes on `http://www.recipe.com`, accessed on 23/02/2015.

form a continuum, and a strict division between exophoric and endophoric uses is at times difficult to make and might not always be useful (as discussed for demonstratives in subsubsubsectionCohesive devices). (14) is an extract from a Makhuwa recipe exhibiting a similar use of possessive pronouns as example x above.

(14) *phaa-therekel-eehu e-sepol-eeh'-iiyo,* |
NARR-cut-POSS.1PL 10-onion-POSS.1PL-10.DEMII
aalyu-eeh-ayo, | *pimenta,*
1.garlic-POSS.1PL-1.DEMII 1.pepper
'And then we cut our onion(s), the garlic, pepper'

The reason for the last element on the list – *pimenta* 'pepper' - to be expressed by a bare NP, in contrast to previous elements, is not clear.

Similar examples can also be found in Swahili recipes collected for this study.

(15) *tu-ka-chukua i-le supu y-etu* (...)
SM1PL-SUBS-take 9-DEMII 9.soup 9-POSS.1PL
'Then we take that soup of ours (...)'

(16) *halafu tu-ka-tia vi-le vy-ungu vy-etu*
after SM1PL-SUBS-put.in 8-DEMII 8-spice 8-POSS.1PL
'Then we put (it) in those spices of ours'

This use of referring expressions specific to recipes recounting a cooking session show the relevance of collecting a greater variety of genres to find constructions which might otherwise remain unnoticed.

The other reason for which possessives are included in this analysis, are the Makhuwa narrative forms described in 5.3.6. As possessives are used here to mark the subject on the verb, which is not marked in any other way (17), they are also an important part of the reference tracking paradigm of the language. Especially in light of what has been said in 8.2.1.1 about the narrative infinitives, these forms add another layer to the narrative style of Makhuwa speakers. They also add an additional tool for reference tracking as subject participant are referred to with the clitizised possessive.

(17) *Phaa-tthin-eehu ma-thap' ale*
NARR-collect-POSS1PL 6-mathapa 6.DEMIII
'And when we collected those cassava leaves,'

8.2.3 Object ellipsis

Another important finding regarding the paradigm of referring expressions used in the studied texts is the use of object ellipsis. Despite the expectations for Makhuwa to display more occurrences of this structure than Swahili, no significant difference was found. Numerous examples of object ellipsis were found in Swahili texts, comparable to the Makhuwa counterpart. This matter will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. In the meantime, an extract from the Swahili material to exemplify this phenomenon is presented in (18).

(18) a. *A-na-chukua vi-donge vi-wili vya sukari,*
SM1-PRS-take 8-lump 8-two 8.CONN 9.sugar
'She takes two lumps of sugar,'

b. *a-na-tumbukiza katika glasi.*
SM1-PRS-put.inside into glass
'she puts (them) into the glass.'

In this example, from the MPI stimuli video descriptions, the speaker talks about *vi-donge vya sukari* 'lumps of sugar', and in describing how they are put into a glass in (18b), he does not refer to this referent with any overt expression.

Bearth (2003) lists zero anaphora among the ways an argument can be realised in Bantu. However, in the case of objects of transitive verbs, Bearth (2003:123) talks rather of 'object underspecification'. This is explained using the following Swahili example.

(19) *Na-taka ku-oa*
SM1SG.PRS-want INF-marry
'I want to marry.' (Bearth 2003: 123)

Bearth argues that this is not due to the object being omitted as it is clear from the context, but rather as a way of "limiting what is said to the main point" (Bearth 2003:123)

and adhering to Grice's (1975) maxim of quantity. Thus in the case of (19), the significant information is the wish to get married. Bearth (2003) considers this construction as adding to the options in which a speaker can present the state of affairs. The only instance where Bearth describes the object ellipsis as zero anaphora is the case of double object constructions.

(20) *Mama a-li-m-pa m-toto ki-tabu*
1.mother SM1-PST-OM1-give 1-child 7-book
'Mother gave the child the book.' (Bearth 2003: 124)

In such constructions, where in Bantu typically the primary object will be human and therefore trigger agreement on the verb, the secondary theme object cannot be object marked when omitted (21).

(21) *Mama a-li-m-pa m-toto*
1.mother SM1-PST-OM1-give 1-child
'Mother gave it (the book) to the child.' (Bearth 2003: 124)

Bearth (2003) describes this second example as having an obligatory grammatically conditioned omission of the OM, which is retrivable from context. Such examples are common in the studied texts and will be discussed further in Chapter 9. However, from Bearth's explanation, it remains unclear what the motivations and discourse conditions would be for the use of (21) rather than an alternative construction for example with a demonstrative pronoun referring to the theme object or a repetition of the lexical NP. This requires further investigation, especially considering Bearth's claim that the omission of objects with transitive verbs is an underspecification to do with not breaching the maxim of quantity rather than leaving out arguments retrievable from context. I will discuss the instances and patterns of object omission in the Makhuwa and Swahili texts in Chapter 9.

8.3 Discourse factors

Now that we have established the various referring expressions found in Makhuwa and Swahili texts, this section considers the research question of which particular discourse conditions influence their patterns of occurrence. Thus, having discussed the referent tracking paradigms for both languages, the various types of referring expressions are now linked to the discourse factors that play a role in their use. I will first discuss the activation status of referents and show that there is a strong correlation between new referents and the use of an overt lexical NP to introduce them. However, when considering already active referents, the link between the use of a specific expression and the activation status of the referent is less clear. I will thus turn to concepts of internal textual structures and show that the coding of participants not only depends on whether a participant is clear from context, but also on the position of the referring expression within the text and its internal structure. Finally, I will consider the discourse topicality of different referents and show the correlation between this and the expression of referents in discourse. The current section will then be followed by a reconsideration of referring expressions in Makhuwa and Swahili in light of these factors and their different discourse uses.

8.3.1 Activation status of referents

A possible step in trying to understand the use of these referring expressions in specific discourse contexts is to look at the activation status of their referents. In Section 4.3.3 of Chapter 4, Chafe's (1994) activation status framework was presented, which will now be applied to the Makhuwa and Swahili texts. Chafe (1994) assumes that a certain degree of cognitive efforts on the side of the hearer is needed in order to 'activate' or 'light up' a referent in the hearer's mind at a given point in the narrative. According to Chafe (1994), a referent is considered 'given' if it is already active, i.e. mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. This type of referent needs the least effort to be activated as it is still active in the hearer's mind. An 'accessible' referent is one that has been mentioned at some point in the past discourse, but not as recently,

and is therefore only semi-active in the hearer's mind. Such a referent requires more effort to be reactivated than a given one. Lastly, a newly introduced referent, identified as 'new', is unknown to the hearer and thus inactive. This last type will have to be activated, implying the greatest degree of cognitive effort on the part of the hearer.

When examining the collected data from this angle, several patterns emerge. Below some of the links between the activation status of a referent and the referring expression used to pick it out are presented. The section follows the order in which participants are referred to, from being introduced into the discourse to subsequent mentions throughout the text.

8.3.1.1 Introduction: new referents

The strongest pattern in terms of consistency is the use of full lexical NPs when introducing a new referent. This is hardly surprising, as it is difficult to imagine an unknown participant being mentioned for the first time by a pronoun or by subject or object marking only. It is perhaps necessary to add though that combinations of NPs with other element such as demonstratives are also rare for new referents, but few instances do occur and will be discussed further on. Below are examples of new referents established by a bare lexical NP. In Makhuwa the referent *ekole* 'coconut' is first mentioned in the discourse by an NP (22) and in Swahili the same is truth for the referent *msichana* 'girl' (23).

(22) *o-hel'* *e-kole*
NARR.INF-put 9-coconut
'Then we put the coconut in.'

(23) (...) *a-na-pishana* *na* *m-sichana* *njia-ni.*
SM1-PRS-pass.by with 1-girl way-LOC
'He passed by a girl on the way.'

Sometimes the NP occurs with a combination of a possessive and a demonstrative. For more details, see the discussion on possessives in Section 8.2.

(24) *phaa-therekel-eehu e-sepol-eehu-iiyo.*
NARR-cut-POSS.1PL 10-onion-POSS.1PL-10.DEMII
'And then we cut those onions of ours.'

Another combination of demonstrative and possessive pronouns is also found in a Swahili recipe to introduce a new participant (25).

(25) *tu-ka-toa u-le u-chafu'-ake w-ote.*
SM1PL-SUBS-take 11-DEMIII 11-dirt-POSS3SG 11-all
'Then we take away all of its dirt.'

Here, even though *uchafu* 'dirt' is mentioned for the first time, it is part of the 'rice' referent which has been already mentioned and could therefore also be considered a cohesive device of the part-whole type. This expression is therefore a good example of the category 'accessible inferrable (acc-inf)' used in our discourse coding method and explained in Section 4.5.2.

There is a very low occurrence of referents being introduced first by NP+DEM, in accordance with the hypothesis that demonstratives are used to point back to previously mentioned referents. One case where this happened is the following example.

(26) *weexa mwaapu ole*
INF.place 3.pan 3.DEMIII
'to place that pan'

In this case, however, even though *mwaapu* 'pan' has not been mentioned before, it refers to the pan where the rice is cooking. The noun *mwaapu* was not used, but the rice was already on the fire in a pan. This therefore refers back to an item already implied in the previous discourse. This is an another example of an accessible inferable referent. It could probably be considered an example of part-whole relationship again, as with the previous example.

Speech participants are another obvious exception of the introduction by full NP pattern, as in their case this would only be possible by means of personal pronouns. As this are mostly use for contrast or emphasis (as discussed in Section 5.3.4), speech

participants are mostly introduced simply by subject markers, both in Swahili (27) and in Makhuwa (28).

(27) *Basi, leo tu-li-pika pilau*
so today SM1PL-PST-cook pilau
'So, today we cooked pilau.'

(28) *Denovo ki-naa-rwa o-kontari e-xitooriya hukula ni havara*
again SM1SG-PRS.DJ-go INF-tell 9-story 1.hare and 1.leopard
'Again I am going to tell a story about the hare and the leopard.'

Another brief note about the introduction of referents can be made on the syntactic position in which they are introduced into the discourse. McGill (2009), when analysing Cicipu discourse, contrasts Chafe's (1994) and DuBois' (1987) approach to whether new referents are introduced in the subject position.

> "Chafe's (1994: 82-92) 'light subject constraint' (...) (says) that subjects in conversational English always express either referents that are active or semi-active, or that are trivial in importance. Important referents are never introduced by NPs functioning as subject (...) Du Bois' (1987) Preferred Argument Structure is a better fit with the Cicipu data, since it places no restriction on intransitive subjects (S), only on transitive subjects (A), which speakers prefer to reserve for 'given' referents" (McGill 2009: 372-3).

The differentiation between intransitive and transitive verbs better suits Cicipu, as in many narratives referents are introduced as subjects of intransitive motion verbs (McGill 2009). This resonates strongly with the current study, as the situation is very similar for some of our Makhuwa (29) and Swahili (30) texts. In the Makhuwa example (29) the referent *nlopwana* 'man' is firstly introduced into the discourse as the subject of the verb 'appear'. Similarly, in the Swahili example (30) *vijana watatu* 'three boys' are mentioned for the first time in the narrative as subjects of the verb 'come out/appear'.

(29) *Aa-khum-ale* *n-lopwana* | *n-lopawana mmoca* |
SM1.PST-come.out-PRF.REL 1-man 1-man 1.one
'A man appeared, one man.'

(30) *Wa-na-tokea* *vi-jana* *wa-tatu.*
SM2-PRS-come.out 8-young.boys 2-three
'Three young boys come out.'

And when the referent is not introduced as the subject of a motion verb, it is introduced by the verb 'to be' in Makhuwa (31) and in Swahili texts in its existential use (32) (equivalent to 'there is/are' in English).

(31) *N-lopwana ni* *n-thiyana a-ri* *wa meeza-ni*
1-man and 1-woman 2-COP by table-LOC
'A man and a woman are at the table.'

(32) *Katika video* *hii* | *kuna* *bwana m-moja*
in 9.video 9.DEMI there.is 1.man 1-one
'In this video there is a man.'

It is noteworthy that in most of these examples, except (31), the subject follows the verb, and so appears in clause-final position, which has often been observed to be a preferred position for new information in Bantu (Zerbian 2006, Marten and van der Wal 2014).

8.3.1.2 Subsequent mentions: given referents

Once participants are introduced into the discourse, the situation becomes more complex as there is much more variation in the choice of the referring expression used to denote a given participant.

For example, in Makhuwa recipes, given inanimate participants are referred to either by a lexical NP (rare), a combination of NP+DEM (common) or they are dropped altogether (fairly common). In this genre in Makhuwa there are no examples of only demonstratives or personal pronouns standing in for a referent. In a recipe where many inanimate objects and ingredients are used, this is fairly expected. Where the referent is not completely obvious an NP+DEM is a better choice to disambiguate, while where

the referent is unequivocally clear, it can be simply omitted.

In Swahili recipes, given inanimate referents are often referred to by DEM+NP constructions or omitted in certain circumstances in similar way to Makhuwa, but this alternates with other options such as denoting a given referent with an OM.

The variation of expressions used for given referents is not unique to objects in recipes. It is also found in narratives involving both animate and inanimate participants. Let's consider a number of examples demonstrating this variation.

(33) a. *m-vulana m-moja a-na-tukizia na baisikeli*
1-boy 1-one SM1-PRS-appear with 9.bicycle
'A boy appears with a bicycle'

b. *a-na-simama pale*
SM1-PRS-stop 16.DEMIII
'He stops there'

c. *a-na-pakia ki-kapu ki-moja kwenye baisikeli y-ake*
SM1-PRS-load 7-basket 7-one in 9.bicycle 9-POSS.3SG
'He loads one basket on his bike'

d. *na ku-ondoka na-cho*
and Subsequent mentions: given referents-leave with-7
'And then he leaves with it'

In this example, the participant is *mvulana* 'boy'. After this participant has been introduced by a full lexical NP, he is referred to by an SM in (33b) and (33c) but by zero anaphora in (33d). As the participant is of the same activation status (given) in all three instances, this factor is not sufficient to determine the referring expression used, and I will show in Section 8.3.2 how text and paragraph structure plays a role in referent coding as well.

In (34), a given referent, mentioned in the preceding discourse, is expressed by a full lexical NP, although this occurs in a subordinate clause, which might have an impact on the choice of referring expression. Further down, (35) shows two more options for expressing a given referent.

(34) a. (...) *a-na-pishana na m-sichana njia-ni.*
SM1-PRS-pass.by with 1-girl way-LOC

‘He passed by a girl on the way’

b. *Baada ya ku-pishana na msichana njia-ni* (...)
after of INF-pass.by with 1-girl way-LOC
‘After passing by a girl on the way (...)’

(35) a. *Vi-le ki-jana a-na-rejea na ma-tunda y-ake ma-tatu*|
7-DEMIII 7-boy SM1-PRS-return with 6-fruit 6-POSS.3SG 6-three
‘When the boy is returning with his three pieces of fruit like that’

b. *a-na-wa-gaia rafiki z-ake wa-wili*|
SM1-PRS-OM2-give 10.friend 10-POSS.3SG 2-two
‘He gave (them) to his two friends’

c. *na yeye a-na-bakia na tunda moja.*
and PRON.3SG SM1-PRS-remain with 5.fruit 5.one
‘and he remained with one piece of fruit.’

In this example, the referent *matunda* ‘fruit’, coded as lexical NP in line a), is omitted in line b). In addition, the participant *kijana* ‘young boy’ is referred to by a combination of a personal pronoun and SM in line c) when present in the immediate preceding discourse and therefore active/given. Thus, determining whether an active given referent will be expressed by a lexical NP, an SM or OM, a PRON+NP, by zero anaphora or any other alternative can not be simply dependent only on the activation status of the respective participant, but also depends on text structure and inherent topichood, discussed further below.

Measuring the distance between these anaphoric expressions and their antecedent does not help to determine which form is used either, as in all the above examples the referent was mentioned in the immediately preceding IU.

To see the extent of this variation, it is enough to examine even a single text by a single speaker. Within one version of the Swahili Pear Story, an active given participant which was previously mentioned in the immediate preceding IS was denoted three times by a lexical NP, twice by NP+DEM, four times by an OM and finally completely omitted three times.

To summarise, when observing purely the link between referring expressions and the corresponding activation status of the participants, the results are inconclusive. Even though patterns can be seen for newly introduced referents, given active referents

exhibit a wide range of referring expressions within the studied texts, including lexical NPs, NPs modified by demonstratives or other pronouns, SMs and OMs (on their own) as well as zero-anaphora.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the activation status analysis goes hand in hand with Givón's (1983) hypothesis on the phonological coding of referents. Givón postulates that the more accessible a topic is, the less phonological weight will be involved in its coding.

more accessible topics [light]	↑	zero anaphora
		unstressed/bound pronouns ('agreement')
		stressed/independent pronouns
less accessible topics [heavy]	↓	full NPs

Table 8.2: Givón's (1983) phonological coding weight scale

However, this scale of phonological weight is further closely interlinked with the internal structure of a text. As seen in Section 4.3.1 in Chapter 4, it is not only the previous mention that affects the accessibility of a referent, but also interventions of the text structure such as paragraph boundaries.

In Section 8.3.2 I will thus explore alternative determinants of referent encoding and show that textual structure needs to be taken into account in addition to activation status for a comprehensive understanding of how a referent is presented in the text. This thus shows some patterns in the Makhuwa and Swahili data that support Givón's (1983) hypothesis of the scale of grammatical coding devices in discourse.

8.3.2 Referent coding and textual structure

In this section, the aim is to see how the internal structure of texts is reflected in the referent tracking patterns of the studied Makhuwa and Swahili texts and how it interplays with the activation status of referents and Givón's (1983) hypothesis on phonological coding discussed in Section 4.2.2.

8.3.2.1 In-paragraph progression

A direct effect of internal text structures on the coding of referents which has been attested across various languages is referred to as 'in-paragraph progression' (see Section 4.2.2). This means that Givón's scale of phonological coding is observed within a paragraph. The progression of referents tracking within paragraphs in Makhuwa and Swahili narratives seems to adhere to these cross-linguistic tendencies, at least to some degree. The continuum of phonologically heavier coding for when the participant is introduced descending to less coding as it becomes more active can be seen for instance in example (36) from the Swahili retelling of the Pear story, repeated here.

(36) a. *m-vulana m-moja a-na-tukizia na baisikeli*
1-boy 1-one SM1-PRS-appear with 9.bicycle
'A boy appears with a bicycle'

b. *a-na-simama pale*
SM1-PRS-stop 16.DEMIII
'He stops there'

c. *a-na-pakia ki-kapu ki-moja kwenye baisikeli y-ake*
SM1-PRS-load 7-basket 7-one in 9.bicycle 9-POSS.3SG
'He loads one basket on his bike'

d. *na ku-ondoka na-cho*
and NARR.INF-leave with-7
'And then he leaves with it'

In this extract, the same pattern of participant tracking within paragraphs attested in various languages can be seen. When the referent is first introduced it is referred to by a full NP *mvulana mmoja* 'one boy' (36a). Subsequently, it is denoted only by the corresponding subject marker (36b) and then finally in the last IUs of the paragraph a narrative infinitive is used which does not mark the subject at all (36d). As far as subjects are concerned, such a progression is widely spread across the texts in this study, with some minor variation. Even where the in-paragraph progression is not as clear, examples disproving such a hypothesis are rare.

Another cross-linguistic pattern which follows from the 'in-paragraph progression' is that at the beginning of new units a referent might be 'reintroduced', often by a bare

NP.

> "Many full NPs which occur in narratives where one could have expected pronouns are functioning to signal the hierarchical structure of the text (...) full NPs are used to demarcate new narrative units" (Fox 1987:168 on English narratives).

As a new unit sets a new scene, often the activation status of participants is 'reset' and the antecedent of an anaphoric element becomes less accessible if there is a unit boundary in between the two expressions. One of the most visible patterns in our text is exactly this 're-introduction' of a participant at the beginning of a new paragraph. In (37) the referent *nrama* 'rice' is re-introduced with a full NP after a paragraph break (37b) even-though it has been mentioned in the previous IU (37a).

(37) a. *khweli ni-nrama p-weex-eehu veekho*||
sure and-5.rice5 NARR-put-POSS.1PL on.the.fire
'surely then we put also the rise on the fire'

b. *nno o-ttokotth-aka nrama*
18.DEMII NARR.INF-be.cooked-DUR rice(5)
'here the rice is cooking'

In parallel, example (38) from the Swahili retelling of the Pear Story shows the way the participant *kijana* 'young boy' is referred to by a full NP after a paragraph boundary, despite being present the previous IU.

(38) a. (...) *kwamba ki-jana a-li-yu-ko chini* |
that 7-boy SM1-PST-REL-15 down
'that the boy who is below'

b. *a-me-chukua ki-kapu ki-moja cha ma-tunda yake* ||
SM1-PRF-take 7-basket 7-one 7.CONN 6-fruit 6POSS3SG
'took one basket of his fruit'

c. *Wakati ki-jana ki-endesha baisikeli na ki-kapu ch-a ma-tunda*
time 7-boy SM7-drive 9.bicycle with 7-basket 7-CONN 6-fruit
(...)

'When the boy rides his bike with one basket of fruit (...)'

In this example, all three participants *kijana* 'boy', *kikapu* 'basket' and *matunda* 'fruits' are expressed with full lexical NPs in (38c), despite being mentioned in the IU immediately preceding this current one. It appears that it is the paragraph boundary in between these units which accounts for this distribution: the referring expressions which are used as participants are 're-activated' at the beginning of the new paragraph.

This following extract from a Makhuwa recipe shows how text structure also interacts with referent tracking in different ways. The seemingly common omission of objects as well as subject marking is in fact not only determined by whether a participant is clear from context but also by the position of the referring expression within the text and its internal structure. An example of this is the object participant *etthu* 'things' being mentioned by a NP+DEM after a paragraph boundary (39b) while further in the same text the object participant 'mathapa' occurring with the same verb is omitted because it is at the very end of a paragraph (40b).[2]

(39) a. *ts-ootheene o-hela-tsa mommo* ||
10-all NARR.INF-put-PL 18.RED.DEMII
'we put all right there'

b. *o-ttokotth' e-tthu n'ye*
NARR.INF-be.cooked 10-thing 10.DEMIII
'let those things cook'

(40) a. *o-hela n-ttesa*
NARR.INF-put 5-peanuts
'then we add peanuts'

b. *o-ttokotth-ela* /
NARR.INF-be.cooked-APPL
'(It) is cooked together with (it)' (i.e. 'the mathapa is cooked together with the peanuts')

The fact that narrative infinitives occur mostly at the end of ISs supports the previously discussed 'subject-dependent' theory. In line with the in-paragraph progression of reference expression, the subject is set out by heavy phonological coding at the start while progressing to lighter coding, and finally culminating in zero coding in narrative

[2]In (40b), here the applicative yields a ' together with something' meaning, also documented in Shangaji (Devos –personal correspondence).

infinitives towards the end. One exception to this are the instances where an infinitive occurs at the beginning of the paragraph after the construction baada ya. It could be argued though that this is an example of a standard infinitive (rather than a narrative infinitive) which is used for its nominal character and whose occurrence is determined by structural factors rather than discourse strategies. In fact, Schadeberg (2009) explains how these structures involving an Arabic loan word (in this case baada 'after') as heads of class 9 connective nominal constructions have partly replaced the equivalent older verbal strategies (see Schadeberg 2009: 92 for examples).

8.3.3 Discourse topicality

Another factor to consider when evaluating the use of different expressions in participant tracking is discourse topicality. This has been found to explain the choice of certain referring expressions or connected structures, such as agreement patterns in Cicipu (McGill 2009). As discussed in Section 4.3.2, discourse topicality refers to a special importance of a participant over a whole chunk of discourse. This status of certain participants sometimes results in a different - often more minimal - coding.

In the Makhuwa and Swahili texts studied, referents seem to need to be reintroduced by a full NP when a new paragraph starts, as discussed in Section 8.3.2. The main participants, however, are often an exception to this pattern. They naturally tend to be the highly topical referents throughout the narrative. For these participants, reference by lighter coding such as SM or OM is enough despite IS or paragraph boundaries. This means they do not need to be re-activated at the start of a new paragraph like other referents. Below are two examples of how discourse topicality affects the coding strategies of referents in both languages.

(41) a. *a-ka-toka* ||
SM1-SUBS-leave
'then he left'

b. *a-li-po-toka* |
SM1-PST-OM16-leave
'When he left'

c. *a-ka-enda kwa rafiki yake* |
SM1-SUBS-go to 9.friend 9POSS3SG
'then he went to his friend'

d. *amba-ye na-m-jua ni polisi* |
REL-9 SM1.PRS-OM1-know COP police
'who he knew was a policeman'

e. *a-ka-mw-azima zile vazi la polisi* ||
sm1-subs-om1-borrow 10demiii 5.clothes 5.conn police
'He borrowed from him those police clothes'

f. *a-li-mw-azima zile vazi la polisi* |
SM1-PST-OM1-borrow 10DEMIII 5.clothes CONN police
'He borrowed those police clothes (...)

This extract from a Swahili folktale exemplifies the way a referent needs no re-activation after a paragraph boundary when it is the discourse topic. Here, the participant in question is the hare, one of the two main characters of the narrative. Despite two different paragraph boundaries, the participant is referred to simply by a set of SMs (41b) and (41f).

Similarly, we find the discourse topic of the section of the Makhuwa retelling of the Pear Story, discussed in Chapter 7) which is not re-activated by heavy coding after a paragraph boundary.

(42) a. *tootho phaa-ho-kol-ennye ntsulu-mmwe* |
again NARR-PST.DJ-return-3SG 18.up-18.DEMIII
'again he returned up there'

b. *wiira a-carih-e e-neeraru* ||
COMP SM1-fill-SBJV 9-third
'to fill the third one'

c. *w-aa-weel-ennye ntsulu-nmwe* |
NARR-PST-go.up-3SG 18.up-18.DEMIII
'When he went up there'

d. *wiira a-carih-e e-neeraru* |
COMP SM1-fill-SBJV 9-third
'to fill the third one'

In fact, this is an example of a head-tail linking structure (discussed in Section 7.2.2) reinforcing the presence of a paragraph boundary. The participant - in this case 'the

man' - is still denoted only by an SM (although by suffixation) at the beginning of the new paragraph (42c) as a result of its status as a discourse topic.

Discourse topicality often also interacts with other factors, as minimal coding to express a topical referent is possible only if the continuity of its discourse topicality is not disrupted. This means that coding of topical participants depends also on the topic chains they are involved in.

8.3.3.1 Topic chains

The idea that the topicality of a referent is sustained through several subsequent mentions in connected IUs has been formulated as topic/topical chains.

> "Topical chains (TCs) consist in a specific type of cohesive chain (Halliday and Hasan, 1976): topically homogeneous segments. These segments are mainly composed with connected units containing the same topical referent" (Afantenos et al. 2012: 4).

This means that a part of discourse might be formed of connected units with expressions which all have the same topical referent and so creating a topical (or topic) chain. The study of the Makhuwa and Swahili texts found that this is important for referent tracking, since whether a referring expression is part of such a topic chain effects its form. In Makhuwa and Swahili, a participant might be expressed by lighter coding than expected because of its discourse topicality. However, if the topic chain in the preceding discourse is interrupted by a different participant, heavier coding might be used to disambiguate or re-activate the first participant, as will be presented by examples further in this section.

In Bantu languages topic chaining also interacts with the noun class membership of referents. Different participants can interfere with a topic chain but this might not affect the choice of referring expression denoting the topical participant if the new participant is distinct enough in terms of noun class. On the other hand, if the participant disrupting the topic chain belongs to the same noun class or one with similar agreement pattern, a referent might require heavier coding despite its discourse topicality for

disambiguation or for reactivation purposes. Even though animacy is also an important factor here, noun classes have a bigger impact as they mostly determine the agreement pattern, and as a consequence the SMs and OMs used in the tracking process. Animacy and noun class are however inherently interlinked in Bantu so it is sometimes difficult to separate one from the other in terms of factors influencing the choice of referring expression.

In this study, another element was identified as relevant when examining topic chains in Makhuwa and Swahili texts: the syntactic status of the referent. Often a topical chain will involve units where the referent is repeatedly in the subject position or, alternatively, in the object position. Although a topic chain might involve both subject and object structures, it is useful to discuss subject chains and object chains separately. In the rest of this section, examples of subject chains will be presented and described, while object chains are discussed in Chapter 9, which is dedicated to the way referents in object positions are denoted.

The survey of subject chains found in the studied texts starts below with example (43) of a topical subject chain from the Swahili Pear Story.

(43) a. *Katika video hii | kuna bwana m-moja*
in 9.video 9.DEMI there.is 1.man 1-one
'In this video there is a man'

b. *ambaye / yu-ko juu ya mti |*
REL.1 1-LOC.COP up CONN 3.tree
'who is up a tree'

c. *a-na-vuna ma-tunda ||*
SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit
'he is picking fruit'

d. *Wakati a-na-vuna matunda |*
time SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit
'When he is picking fruit'

e. *a-na-panda juu na |*
SM1-PRS-climb up
'he climbs up'

f. *ku-shuka na |*
NARR.INF-come.down and

‘he comes down’

g. *ku-weka katika vi-kapu vy-ake*
NARR.INF-put in 8-basket 8-POSS.3SG
‘he puts (them) into a basket’

This is a clear example of an uninterrupted subject chain. No other interfering participant occurs in the subject position, and the referent is expressed by continuously lighter coding following Givón’s (1948) scale: NP (43a) → SM (43b-e) → Ø (43f-g). Moreover, no heavy coding is needed at the start of the new paragraph, as the referent is the discourse topic of this chunk of the narrative.

Continuing with examples of discourse topicality, the following brief Swahili description of one of the MPI videos shows a subject chain interrupted by referents of different noun classes.

(44) a. *Kuna m-sichana m-moja* |
there.is 1-girl 1-one
‘There is one girl’

b. *yu-ko ndani ya chumba* |
1-LOC.COP inside CONN 7.room
‘she is inside a room’

c. *na mbele yake kuna meza* ||
and front POSS.3SG there.is 9.table
‘in front of her there is a table’

d. *Meza i-me-tandik-wa ki-tambaa ch-eupe* |
9.table SM9-PRF-cover-PASS 7-cloth 7-white
‘the table is covered with a white cloth’

e. *na juu kuna sahani* |
and up there.is 9.plate
‘on it there is a plate’

f. *na a-na nyundo mkono-ni* |
and SM1-have hammer hand-LOC
‘and she has a hammer in her hand’

In this example, the point of focus is the subject marking on the verb in (44f). This is interesting in light of what has been said on discourse topics and subject/object chains. *Msichana* ‘girl’ is introduced by an NP only at the beginning of the paragraph (44a).

Before it gets mentioned again in line f) in the subject position, two different subjects interfere (*meza* 'table' and *sahani* 'plate'), as well as a paragraph boundary – after (44c). Despite this, the girl is not reintroduced by a lexical NP at the start of the new paragraph but is simply denoted by a SM. As noted previously in this section, this is common for discourse topics which remain highly active throughout a portion of text. As for the interruption of the subject chain by other participants, the determining factor here is both animacy and noun class. As both interfering referents differ from the discourse topic *msichana* 'girl' in these aspects, minimal coding still suffices.

To exemplify the effects of noun class affiliation in topicality chains in various environments, below is another example of a disrupted subject chain and the consequences for coding strategies.

(45) a. *Mara a-na-wa-ona wa-le vi-jana* |
time SM1-PRS-OM2-see 2-DEMIII 8-youth
'At the time when he sees thouse boys'

b. *wa-na-pita* |
SM2-PRS-pass
'they pass by'

c. *wa-na ma-tunda ya-le mkono-ni* |
SM2-have 6-fruit 6-DEMIII hand-LOC
'they have that fruit in their hands'

d. *wa-na-kula* ||
SM2-PRS-eat
'they eat (them).'

e. *Kwa hiyo a-na-jua* | (...)
for this SM1-PRS-know
'therefore he knows (...)'

In this example the first SM (45a) denotes 'the older man on the tree' who has been the topic of the preceding two ISs. But in the next three IUs (45b-d) the topical subject chain in disrupted as *wale vijana* 'those young boys' becomes the subject. Nonetheless, when 'the man' becomes the subject again in (45e) there is no need for a full lexical NP or other ways of re-activating this referent. The status of this referent as the discourse topic and the fact that the subject chain was interrupted by a participant of a different

noun class result in the light coding of this referent by an SM.

Finally, this section presents a contrasting example of an interrupted topical subject chain involving participants of the same noun class and animacy.

(46) a. *Wakati a-ki-wa juu* |
time SM1-sit-be up
'When he was up'

b. *m-vulana m-moja a-na-tukizia na baisikeli* |
1-boy 1-one SM1-PRS-appear with 9.bicycle
'A boy appears with a bicycle'

c. *a-na-simama pale* |
SM1-PRS-stop 16.DEMIII
'He stops there'

d. *a-na-pakia ki-kapu ki-moja kwenye baisikeli y-ake* |
SM1-PRS-load 7-basket 7-one in 9.bicycle 9-POSS.3SG
'He loads one basket on his bike'

e. *na ku-ondoka na-cho* ||
and NARR.INF-leave with-7
'And then he leaves with it'

f. *A-na-endesha baisikeli y-ake yu-le ki-jana* |
SM1-PRS-drive 9.bicycle 9-POSS.3SG 1-DEMIII 7-youth
'He rides his bike that boy'

g. *na yu-le bwana a-li-yu-ko juu* | (...)
and 1-DEMIII 1.man SM1-PST-REL.1-LOC.COP up
'and that man who was up there(...)'

This extract is taken from the first part of the Swahili retelling of the Pear Story. In this part, the older man is picking fruit from a tree. While going up and down the tree to pick fruits and put them in the basket, he does not notice a boy coming along with his bike and stealing one of the baskets. As the older man has been the subject of the preceding IS and he is the topic of this section of discourse, this extract starts with a simple SM denoting this referent in (46a). In (46b) the boy is introduced. The subsequent IUs describe his actions and this referent therefore occupies the subject position. In line with the paragraph progression coding pattern, SMs (46c) and (46d) and finally zero anaphora (46e) are used to refer back to him within the present paragraph. At the beginning of the following paragraph, on the other hand, this participant

is re-introduced by heavy coding, namely DEM + NP (46f). In the next line (46g) the story shifts back to the older man, the discourse topic of this section. Here, too, however, a DEM +NP is used to re-establish the participant. This might be surprising if we expected the discourse topic to need only lighter coding, but it is less surprising if we consider that the subject topic chain has been disrupted by a referent of the same noun class (and animacy) which could create potential ambiguity and confusion.

8.4 Referring expressions revisited

After considering the factors discussed above which interact with referent tracking strategies in our Makhuwa and Swahili texts, this section will revisit some of the referring expressions and their patterns of use. This section focuses especially on the mismatches between the expected use of referring expressions predicted by the studies presented in Chapters 5 and 6 and the actual use of these expressions documented in the set of recorded texts.

8.4.1 Lexical NPs

Full lexical NPs on their own are mostly used to introduce new, i.e. not previously mentioned, referents into the discourse. They are therefore very common in the opening paragraphs of narratives when the scene for the story is being set. Lexical NPs are also sometimes used when a referent is mentioned for the first time in a new paragraph, although in this environment they are often used in alternation with the combination of NP+DEM (or DEM+NP). Simple full lexical NPs are often used in tail-head linking structures between paragraphs. The use of this 'heavy' coding despite the previous mention of a participant is due to its low activation status after a paragraph boundary (as discussed in 4.3.3). When a referent is mentioned after another referent has interrupted its subject/object chain, a lexical NP can also be used to re-activate the participant. Here too, however, an NP in combination with a demonstrative or possessive is more common. Generally, aside from these environments, once a referent is

introduced by an NP, it is rarely referred to by heavier coding within the same IS.

8.4.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns were scarcely found in the studied texts. When they occur they usually fulfill a contrastive focus function. Consider examples (47) for Makhuwa and (48) and (49) for Swahili.

(47) *hi* *naa-weew-aka* *axi-nnyamaam-eehu*
1PL.PRON SM1PL-listen-DUR 2.HON-mother-POSS1PL
'us, we listened to our mothers'

This example is taken from a narrative recounting the behaviour of people during colonial times and at present. The use of *hi* 'us' therefore expresses a contrast with the 'youth of today'. The narrator uses hi consistently throughout the text whenever she refers to 'us', denoting her (older) generation. There is therefore a clear contrastive element conveyed by it, as the whole text compares the 'youth of today' to 'us', describing the significant differences between generations.

Similar examples of personal pronouns used for contrastive focus come from the Swahili folk story about the hare and the leopard.

(48) a. *kwa sababu sungura huu yeye ha-tak-i*
because of 1.hare 1DEMI 3SG.PRON SM1.NEG-want-NEG
ku-shind-wa|
INF-win-PASS
'because this hare, he didn't want to be beaten'

b. *a-na-taka yeye ndi-ye a-na-shinda* |
SM1-PRS-want 3SG.PRON indeed-1 SM1-PRS-win
'he wants him(self) to win'

(49) *sungura na yeye a-ka-jibu a-ka-sema: 'he rafiki*
1.hare and 3SG.PRON SM1-SUBS-answer SM1-SUBS-say he 9.friend
yangu'
9POSS1SG
'as for the hare, and he answered and said: "he, my friend"'

In both examples, the focus is on some contrastive action the hare is performing in

response to the leopard's actions. In (48), the leopard is wining over his friend as only he is able to climb the tree and eat ripe bananas. The narrator now reveals hare's plan of action as it must be HIM (the hare) who wins, rather than the leopard. (49) comes after a paragraph in the story in which the leopard teases the hare by telling him how delicious all the bananas he ate were, while the hare ate only the banana peels. The personal pronoun *yeye* 'he' therefore stresses the contrast as now it is the hare, on the other hand, who reveals to the leopard that it was indeed HIM - dressed as the police - who beat him up, finally getting revenge on the mean actions of his friend.

(50) shows the use of personal pronouns in the Makhuwa retelling of the Pear Story.

(50) a. *phaa-w-aya axi-namwane araru* |
NARR-come-POSS2 2.DIM-child 2.three
'three children arrived'

b. *ph-anl-ok' otelih-ak-aaya e-pheera' nnyo n-tthuttu-ni*
NARR-star-DUR pick-DUR-POSS2 10-fruit 10DEMIII 18-basket-LOC
mwe |
18DEMIII
'they started picking that fruit inyo the basket'

c. *pha-nes-ih-aaya e-tthuttu ele* |
NARR-raise-CAUS-POSS2 9-basket 9DEMIII
'they lifted that basket'

d. *o-hela n-pisikleeta-ni* |
INF-put 18-bycicle-LOC
'they put it on the bicycle'

e. *nnye pha-ns-ennye o-purula e-pisikleet' ele* |
POSS2PL(PRON?) NARR-start-POSS2PL INF-push 9-bycicle 9DEMII
'he started push that bike'

In this extract the scene describes the three boys who collect all the fallen pears and put them back in the basket of the bicycle. In the very last line the narrator uses the pronoun *nnye* (which is in fact the possessive form for 2PL which has been used to denote 3SG human subjects) to stress that it is now the boy who had fallen who takes back hold of the bike and rides it away - in contrast to the three boys who were handling the bike up until this point in this scene.

The only instance where personal pronouns appear to be simply used anaphorically

rather than having a contrastive focus function was found in the Swahili commentary type of text describing the Pear Story (51). Here the 3SG pronoun *yeye* simply stands in the subject position in front of the verb with no obvious contrastive focus or emphasis function.

(51) (...) *kuna mtu anakuja na mbuzi.* ***Yeye*** *ni mrefu na amemkamata mbuzi* (...) *kuna mvulana mdogo anapita na baisikeli.* ***Yeye*** *anakuja moja kwa moja katika sehemu ambayo mbwana huyu anachuma matunda haya.*
'There is a man coming with a goat. **He** is tall and he tied the goat (...) there is a small boy passing by with his bicycle. **He** comes straight to the place where that man is picking that fruit.'

However, these examples are too few to determine how much this is influenced by the type of commentary text or by other factors.

8.4.3 Demonstratives

The use of demonstratives in both languages is perhaps the most complex part of the referring expression paradigm as demonstratives can occur in various combinations and types of structure. Firstly, they can occur on their own or combined with the respective NP. Secondly, they can occur in any of their three forms, including also reduplicated or emphatic forms depending on the language. Lastly, when occurring in combination with an NP, demonstratives are sometimes found preceding the noun and at other times following it. As demonstratives are not the focus of this study, only the most common recurring patterns observed in each language are presented below. Firstly, the use of demonstratives in Makhuwa texts is surveyed, continuing further with the Swahili texts.

Although demonstratives in Makhuwa are sometimes used on their own to refer to a participant, this did not occur often in the studied texts. Van der Wal (2010) labels this use of demonstratives as pronominal. A few examples of such pronominal use in our Makhuwa texts are presented below.

(52) *Axi-namwane uphiyaru, ala khaa-n-eewa e-woora*
2.DIM-child present 2DEMI SM2.NEG-PRF.DJ-listen 9-level
y-ankholoni
9.CONN-colonialism
'The children of today, these don't listen at the level of colonialism.'

(53) *Ayo aa-yariya tsani?*
2DEMII SM2.PST.CJ-be.born how
'Those, how are they born?'

When comparing examples (52) and (53), one notices that different types of demonstratives can be used for such a function; DEM I in the first instance (52) and DEM II (53) in the second instance, both referring to class 2 'them' (young people). The two examples are taken from the same text, telling the story of two generations (the one who grew up during colonial times, and the youth of today) and how they do things differently.

The pronominal use of demonstratives is also found in another example from a folk story, again using DEM II to denote the hare and the leopard, the main participants of the narrative.

(54) *ayo weetta ayo weetta*
2.DEMII INF.walk 2.DEMII INF.walk
'they walked and walked(...)' (refers to the hare and the leopard)

One last example shows the pronominal use also of DEM III found in one of the Makhuwa texts.

(55) *ki-n-siriviri ele mena vakhani*
NEG.SM1SG-PRF.DJ-need 9DEMIII no a.little
'I do not needed that one, not even a little bit (about a 'thing' *etthu*).'

Interestingly, Van der Wal (2010) finds that for Makhuwa Enhara it was mostly DEM III which was used pronominally (and more generally endophorically) while DEM I and DEM II mostly occurred in cases of exophoric referents (i.e. pointing to referents in the real setting, therefore often occurring in direct speech). For Makhuwa Meeto this differentiation was not found as all types of demonstratives were found in endophoric

use in the text. However, the instances of pronominal use of demonstratives were too few in the Makhuwa texts to discern a regular pattern.

Moreover, Van der Wal (2010) notes that pronominal demonstratives in Makhuwa Enhara were found to occur at topic shifts or episode boundaries. The examples presented above, however, seem quite different. None of these examples occur at episode boundaries and topic shift does not appear to be a connecting factor among them. Instead, in the texts studied here, both topic shift and paragraph boundary are often connected to the use of lexical NPs on their own or, more often, in combination with a demonstrative. The alternation of NP and NP+DEM was also found in tail-head linking, where Van der Wal (2010) often found double demonstratives in Makhuwa Enhara. The way demonstratives combine with NPs to track referents in the studied Makhuwa texts is thus presented.

In Makhuwa recipes 'old/known' referents are reactivated by the use of an NP together with a DEM III. In fact the DEM III type seems to be used consistently and the only environment where the DEM II type was found was in (14) discussed in Section 8.2.

In Makhuwa narratives (including folktales, accounts of the Pear Story and other narratives) on the other hand, both types of demonstratives are found. Their distribution does not appear to be complementary either, as both are found to occur in very similar environments, as explored below.

(56) a. *phu-n-lepel-aka havara oyo* | (...)
NARR-OM1-beg-DUR 1.leopard 1.DEMII
'He begged that leopard'

DEM II

b. *phu-n-caph-aka havara ole* | (...)
NARR-OM1-slap-DUR 1.leopard 1.DEMIII
'He slapped that leopard'

DEM III

The examples in (56) contain a combination of an NP with a demonstrative referring back to an already mentioned participant. For both examples, the referents was present

in the preceding IS and therefore has a similar activation status. Only one example of a demonstrative, and that is DEM III, used to refer to a new participant was found in the Makhuwa texts.

(57) *wootwa e-yoolye ele m-mwaapu-ni*
INF.stir 9-food 9.DEMIII 18-pot-LOC
'stir that food in the pot'

In this case, 'food' is mentioned for the first time. But by examining the previous context in more detail, it was discovered that the paragraph discusses the mixing of ingredients and putting it all in the pot and on the stove. As a lexical relationship (and cohesive device) of part-whole, *eyoolye ile* 'that food' in fact refers to an already mentioned participant, as its parts were already mentioned. This is therefore the same pattern discussed for examples (25) and (26) in Section 8.3.1.

As for demonstratives occurring in the Swahili texts, the vast majority are of the DEM II type (*yule*, *kile*, *wale*, etc.) and appear mostly in combination with the respective NP. In the retellings of the Pear Story and the recipes, many examples of NP+DEM II (or DEM II+NP) are found, fulfilling the function of referring back to an already mentioned participant (58).

(58) a. *A-na-endesha baisikeli y-ake yu-le ki-jana |*
SM1-PRS-drive 9.bicycle 9-POSS.3SG 1-DEMIII 7-youth
'He rides his bike that boy'

b. *U-le m-chele tu-li-u-chukua*
3-DEMIII 3-rice SM1PL-PST-OM3-take
'That rice we took it'

c. *na baadaye a-na-kata vi-pande vi-pande kuni zi-le kwa shoka*
and after SM1-PRS-cut 8-piece 8-piece 10.wood 10-DEMIII by axe
'and after he cuts small piece of that wood with an axe'

These examples confirm the hypotheses formulated by Leonard (1985) and Wilt (1987), according to which the *-le* demonstrative serves to anaphorically refer to established referents. Firstly, they all use the *-le* demonstrative to refer to old participants, as

Leonard (1985) proposed. Moreover, all the examples above are found at the beginning of new paragraphs, and therefore the -le demonstrative is used to refer to its antecedent across a paragraph boundary, as formulated by Wilt (1987).

However, when we turn to other narratives such as the recorded Swahili folk stories, there is a greater variety of demonstratives used in combination with NPs to refer to participants in the story.

(59) a. *Huu ndizi u-me-zaa sana | ndizi*
3.DEMI 3.banana.tree SM3-PRF-produced lot 10.banana
'This banana tree produced many bananas.'

b. (...) *kama hu-wez-i | basi kula hayo ma-ganda*
if SM2SG.NEG-can-NEG so INF.eat 6.DEMII 6-peel
'if you can't, well then eat those peels'

c. *a-li-po-rudi tena | a-ka-m-kutana huyu rafiki yake | (...)*
SM1-PST-OM16-return again SM1-SUBS-OM1-meet 1.DEMI friend 9-POSS.3SG
'When he came back, he then met that friend of his (...)'

Here, the suggested hypotheses will not suffice to explain the choice of the demonstrative used. DEM I is used to refer to participants which are not new (59a) and (59b) contrary to Leonard's (1985) prediction. Similarly, DEM I is used when referring to a participant last mentioned beyond a paragraph boundary (59c), despite Wilt's (1987) prediction. Similarly, the idea that *-le* demonstratives are mostly associated with the narrator's use and DEM I with direct speech of the protagonist also does not apply to example (59a) (where the narrator uses DEM I) and example (59b) (where DEM II is used in direct speech). However, following Wilt's (1987) hypothesis, example (59a) would be explained by arguing that the demonstrative refers back to a participant within the paragraph.

Overall, it can be seen that the studied texts exhibit a great variety of use of different types of demonstratives, and this therefore requires further study. Moreover, the occurrence of demonstratives before or after their co-occurring NPs remains an unstudied phenomena and no systematic pattern was observed in this study either. This

too, would therefore benefit from research on a larger dataset.

8.5 Notes on referring expressions in genres and styles

In this last section of this chapter, a number of notes on the variation in referent tracking between different genres and speakers' styles are summarised. Firstly, the difference between commentaries and retelling of stories is described, and further, some observations on speakers' individual idiolects are made.

8.5.1 Commentary vs. narrative

In both languages in the short MPI videos commentary type of data, the referent tracking patterns exhibit some substantial differences compared to the analysed narratives. For example, in Mahuwa, there is almost no use of demonstratives in the MPI videos commentaries, and full NPs tend to be repeated over and over again. Objects are omitted on some occasions, but not very frequently. The scarce use of demonstratives could be linked to the length of the scenes, which never describe more than a few consecutive actions and therefore do not give enough room for the participants to get fully established and later recalled with demonstratives. The repetition of NPs, on the other hand, might have to do with the 'commentary' process, where the unfolding actions are unknown. The lack of knowledge of the structure of the story on the part of the speaker means that referents are constantly re-introduced, as their importance for the future discourse is not known. In the commentary of the Pear story, more full NPs are repeated in the first half of the story, while more NP+DEM occur in the second half, when participants are more established., showing that the length of the text has an effect on text structure and therefore on referent coding.

Some of the differences between the commentary types of recording versus the retelling are illustrated by the extract below. In the first example the speaker was commenting on the video as it was playing. In the second example, however, a different speaker first watched the video and subsequently retold what happened in it.

(60) a. *n-lopwana ni n-thiyana | n-lopwana ho-cisa e-kamiza |*
1-man and 1-woman | 1-man 1.prf.cj-take 9-shirt |
ho-m-maha n-thiyana.
1.prf.cj-om1-give 1-woman
'Man and woman, man takes a shirt, gives (it) to the woman.'

b. *A-havo a-thu ale, n-lopwana ni n-thiyana, n-lopwana*
SM2-be 2-people 2DEMIII, 1-man and 1-woman, 1-man
oyo ku-lokot-aka n-lensu, a-lokot-aka vale nlensu
1DEMI INF-pick-DUR 5-cloth, INF-pick-DUR 16DEMIII 5-cloth
nno ku-n-vah-aka n-thiyana oyo. N-thiyana oyo
5DEMII. 1-woman 1DEMII NARR-take-DUR
pw-akelel-aka.

'There are those people, a man and a woman, that man takes a cloth, he takes that cloth, gives (it) to that woman. That woman takes (it).'

While in example (60a) only bare NPs are used and repeated, the second example (60b) shows a more elaborate system of participant tracking where a referent is first introduced by an NP, but subsequently referred to by an NP+DEM. Still, it has to be noted that even in the first example, a certain structure to the participant tracking strategies is present, as in the final IU which describes the end of the video, one of the participant is denoted only by SM and the secondary object is omitted altogether.

The difference in referent tracking as well as discourse strategies in general among various genres needs to be researched further to explore significant correlations. However, at least between the commentary type of text and the retelling type, there are clear differences in the packaging of information. The discourse strategies are different when recounting a story without knowing what the next stage is and when referring to participants while they are visually present (in the ongoing video). This seems to affect in particular the use of demonstratives and the repetition of full lexical NPs. This last example (61) shows the use of DEM I - more commonly used exophorically - in the commentary of the Swahili Pear Story video.

(61) *sehemu amba-yo bwana huyu a-na-chuma matunda haya*
9.place REL-9 1.man 1.DEMI SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit 6.DEMI
'the place where this man picks this fruit'

8.5.2 Idiolect

Lastly, a final note on the discourse patterns found in the studied texts relates to speakers' individual use of language. The study is a based on a small sample and the patterns found in it indicate certain tendencies which might turn out to be more or less common on inspection of a larger, more representative sample. But even though some of the patterns were unequally spread across the text collection, a strong consistency in the speakers' idiolect was noted, which is worthy of further examination. The stability of speakers' individual language variety goes beyond the use of set phrases or idioms and encompasses many core structural features. This was also noted by Barlow (2013) in a study on English political speeches, where he points to the understudied concept of idiolects and their importance for more general linguistic research. On the occurrences of passive constructions in his corpus, he notes: '(...) we find that the intra-speaker variation is less than the inter-speaker variation' (Barlow 2013: 461). Barlow (2013) concludes his study presenting 'the stability in an individual's productions and preferences over time' as one of the most striking results (Barlow 2013: 477). The discourse-grammatical patterns consistently used by individual speakers in this study include the abundant use of the narrative infinitive or the preference for object omission in certain contexts. A study of a larger sample in the future would provide an interesting insight into the extent of intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation in the use of such discourse-grammatical elements.

8.6 Summary

The discussion in this chapter has shown that the expression of referents in texts can be related to a number of structural features. These include the referent's activation status, the interaction with textual structure, and topic continuity and topic chains, where subject chains and object chains can be distinguished. These discourse features are related to different forms of referring expressions, such as full lexical NPs, pronouns, demonstratives, and subject and object marking, as well as different combinations of these

expressions. The study presented here shows that there is a strong correlation between lexical NPs and the introduction of referents, either as completely new to the discourse or as re-introduced topics at the beginning of a new paragraph. However, the coding of non-new topics is more complex and involves a larger set of referring expressions. It was also noted that the study shows differences in the coding of referents with respect to text genre and speakers' idiolects. While the current chapter has focussed on referent tracking in discourse generally, and included discussion of the coding of subjects, the following section will focus on the expression in discourse of objects. As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, there is a structural difference between Swahili and Makhuwa with respect to object marking, and the discussion in the following chapter addresses discourse correlations of this morphosyntactic difference.

Chapter 9

Object marking and other ways to denote objects in Makhuwa and Swahili texts

9.1 Introduction

After analysing some of the discourse properties of the collected Makhuwa and Swahili texts and noting the many different ways that a participant can be referred to, this chapter focuses specifically on objects and object marking. Its main aim is to explore how the use of object marking is linked to various discourse factors. In order to do that, object marking is placed in the wider context of the participant tracking paradigms of the two languages. In other words, object marking is considered together with the various other ways in which a participant in object function can be expressed.This helps us to understand the specific discourse conditions under which object marking is possible and more likely to occur.

Firstly, the chapter starts with an overview of different environments where OMs have been found to occur in Makhuwa and Swahili texts 9.2. Following this, different ways in which objects can be expressed are presented with examples from the collected data for each language 9.3 and 9.4. In these sections, different discourse factors already

found to be relevant for Makhuwa and Swahili are considered, to try and explain the choice between object marking and the use of other referring expressions. Lastly, the patterns from each language are compared to draw out both similar and contrasting patterns which can be linked to typological differences in the object marking paradigms of these two languages 9.5.

9.2 Occurrence of OMs in texts

As expected all class 1 and 2 objects as well as speech participants are object marked in the Makhuwa texts confirming the obligatoriness of OMs for these classes. Similarly, in Swahili all animate objects and speech participants occurred with a corresponding OM in the texts collected for this study. A few examples from both languages are presented below.

(1) (...) *o-ki-capha* *o-ki-capha* *o-ki-capha*
NARR.INF-OM1SG-slap NARR.INF-OM1Sg-slap NARR.INF-OM1SG-slap
mpakha m-maaru-ni.
until 18-ear-LOC
'(...) and then he slapped me again and again even on my ears.'

(2) *U-na-ni-tup-ia* *ma-ganda kwa sababu gani?*
SM2SG-PRS-OM1SG-throw-APPL 6-peel for reason which
'Why do you throw me the peels?'

(3) *Phu-m-oon-aka* *havara* *nculu mmo.*
NARR.SM1-OM1-see-DUR 1.leopard 18.up 18.DEMII
'he saw the leopard up there'

(4) *Yu-le* *sungura ka-mw-uliza* *mwenziye juu:* (...)
1-DEMIII 1.hare SM1.SUBS-OM1-ask 1.fellow up
'That hare the asked his friend up there:(...)'

In both languages this object marking of relevant nouns includes both co-occurrences of OMs with the lexical NP (4) but also OMs occurring on their own as anaphora denoting participants from previous discourse. Consider the example (5) from a Makhuwa text.

(5) *Ho-n-kuttumula.*
SM1.PRF.CJ-OM1-bump.into
'He bumped into her.'

This example is taken from the material elicited using the MPI videos. In this particular video, a woman stands with a plate in her hands. Suddenly a man appears and passing by bumps into her which results in her dropping the plate. The women is introduced by a full NP at the beginning of the description. However, in the extracted sentence we can see that later on, when she is mentioned again in the object position (5), an OM is used to refer back to her.

A similar Swahili example (6) comes from the folk story about the hare and the leopard.

(6) *A-ka-m-kutana huyu rafiki y-ake, a-ka-mw-uuliza:*
SM1-SUBS-OM1-meet 1.DEMI 9.friend 9-POSS.1 SM1-SUBS-OM1-ask
"rafiki y-angu u-na-lia nini?"
9.friend 9-POSS.1SG SM2SG-PRS-cry why
'And then he met this friend of his, he asked him: "my friend, why are you crying?"'

This extract is taken from the middle of the folk story and the two participants - the hare and the leopard - have been mentioned several times before. At this point, the narrator describes the hare coming back to find his friend - the leopard - crying. In (6) the OM on the verb *uliza* 'ask' denotes 'his friend' mentioned in the previous clause and so exhibits an instance of anaphoric use of an OM.

For Makhuwa no OMs other than for class 1 and 2 and speech participants exist and therefore no other pattern of OM occurrence was found. For Swahili, however, OMs occur also for nouns from other noun classes, both in co-occurrence with the NP (7) or to substitute the referent on their own (8), as shown by these examples.

(7) *A-na-zi-fungua ndizi | a-na-menya | a-na-kula.*
SM1-PRS-OM10-open 10.banana SM1-PRS-peel SM1-PRS-eat
'He opens bananas, he peels (them), he eats (them)'

(8) *A-na-chungulia ndani ya ndoo | na a-na-chukua simu*
SM1-PRS-look.into inside CONN bucket and SM1-PRS-take 9.phone
y-ake | a-na-i-toa.
9-POSS.3SG SM1-PRS-OM1-take.out
'He looks inside the bucket and take his phone, he takes it out.'

Already from the examples presented in this section, it is clear that there is a wide variation in the instances where object marking occurs. Moreover, if we compare Swahili examples (7) and (8), several questions emerge about the use of object marking. The example (7) deals with the inanimate object *ndizi* 'bananas' and the second example (8) with an inanimate object *simu* 'phone'. Both referents have been mentioned before in the texts they are taken from. Despite this, the way they are expressed is quite different. In (7) an OM co-occurs with the NP *ndizi*, while no OM co-occurs with the NP *simu* in (8). Furthermore, the referent *ndizi* is completely omitted from the two subsequent clauses, both referring back to it. In contrast, in (8) the participant *simu* is referred to by an OM in the following clause.

When taking in consideration factors which have been linked to object marking such as animacy, definiteness or specificity, none of them seem to explain the distribution of OMs in these examples. Although there is a slight difference in the definiteness and specificity factor, this still fails to account for the distribution of OMs as the resulting pattern gives a different picture to what has been said in the literature. *Ndizi* 'bananas' in (7) could be considered less definite and specific than the counterpart *simu* 'phone' in (8), since *ndizi* refers to a (non-specific) set of bananas, while *simu* refers to a specific phone. But it is exactly the referent *ndizi* which triggers object marking, traditionally attributed to specific or definite nouns in Swahili (Ashton 1944). Hence, we might expect to find object marking with *simu* rather than with *ndizi* in the examples above. It should also be noted that *simu* is marked with a possessive pronoun and so further explicitly marked as anaphoric. The question therefore remains, of how to account for the (non-)occurrence of object marking in examples such as the pair presented above.

Even for Makhuwa, where the object marking situation is much more restricted, OMs are part of a more complex paradigm of expressions used to refer to objects in

discourse. A speaker, when referring back to a class 1 or 2 participant object might choose to use an OM only or an OM co-occurring with the corresponding NP - which in turn can consist of a bare lexical noun or a phrase with other elements such as demonstratives or possessives. As a result, even though object marking in Makhuwa can appear as a straightforward matter of simple obligatory agreement system with class 1 and 2 nouns, to truly understand this phenomenon, one needs to be able to account for its distribution as a referent tracking tool in texts. In order to examine this, the analysis has to extend also to nouns of other classes and the way they are referred to throughout discourse when in object position, in order to get a complete picture of the referent tracking paradigm.

Table 9.1 is a representation of object marking occurrences in four sample texts to illustrate the distribution of object marking in the collected data. For each language, the texts comprise of one Pear Story retelling and one recipe, each by a different speaker. This is similar to the referential density study (see Section 7.3.1). Although this is a very small sample and is not intended to be in any way statistically representative of the two languages, it allows us to work with a set of Makhuwa and Swahili texts which are comparable in length, content and number of participants. Despite its purely qualitative narrow scope, this study revealed unexpected results which can now shape further research. Many other texts collected for this study served to provide important completing examples and were extremely useful to double-check patterns which emerged, but this smaller set of text was selected for a deeper analysis due to the their comparability in so many different parameters.

	NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
Swahili	25%	15.7%	30.6%	17.6%	11.1%
Makhuwa	30.8%	29.2%	3.1%	32.3%	4.6%

Table 9.1: Distribution of referring expressions in Swahili and Makhuwa sample texts

From the discussion of the examples presented earlier in this section as well as from

the sample texts numbers, it is clear that there is much complexity to the use of object marking in discourse. Some of the examples show that more tools are needed to account for the (non-)occurrence of OMs in certain environments than have been considered so far. The distribution of OMs also confirm that other ways of expressing objects in discourse alternate with object marking and therefore that the use of object marking is restricted to specific environments.

For this reason, in the next section, Makhuwa and Swahili object marking will be considered together with the other referring expressions which can be used in tracking a referent in object position. This is a useful exercise to understand which discourse factors influence the (non-)occurrence of object marking.

The following discussion is first divided by language, exploring the paradigms of referring expressions available and cases of contrasting use of such expressions in Swahili and Makhuwa. Swahili is discussed first (9.3) because of the greater complexity of its object marking system, followed by Makhuwa (9.4). Subsequently, the situation in each language is summarised and a comparison is made of the two systems 9.5.

9.3 Tracking objects in Swahili texts

In this section, Swahili object marking is studied in its wider discourse context, rather than from a syntactic angle in isolated sentences, to see its link to discourse. It was shown in the previous section that an OM can be used to refer back to a participant from previous discourse and therefore it can be used as one of the various participant tracking devices in Swahili.

To further illustrate this anaphoric use of OMs in Swahili, below is example (9) from the descriptions of MPI video stimuli. Here the speaker introduces the 'bicycle' into the narrative with a full NP (9a) and subsequently refers back to it, firstly with an OM co-occurring with the left-dislocated NP (9b) and later by using simply the appropriate OM on its own (9d). This is therefore a clear example of OMs used for referent tracking in the given discourse.

(9) a. *Kuna m-wanamke a-na baisikeli ya ku-kunja.*
there.is 1-woman SM1-have 9.bycicle 9.CONN INF-fold
'There is a woman, she has a foldable bicycle.'

b. *Baisikeli y-ake, a-me-i-kunja,*
9.bicycle 9-POSS.1 SM1-PRF-OM9-fold
'Her bicycle, she folds it,'

c. *i-me-kuwa n-dogo kabisa. Baadaye a-na-kuja,*
SM9-PRF-be 9-small completely after SM1-PRS-come
'it becomes very small. Later she comes,'

d. *a-na-i-kunjua.*
SM1-PRS-OM9-unfold
'she unfolds it.'

This set of clauses therefore exemplifies how object marking is used as a discourse tool in a referent tracking system and thus in maintaining the topic continuity of a referent. Furthermore, it shows the complexities of OMs combining with other referring expressions such as the left dislocation structure. In the next Section 9.3.1, object marking and other referring expression used to denote objects are discussed individually and their distribution is illustrated by examples from the sample texts.

9.3.1 Paradigm of referring expressions

To better understand the paradigm of referring expressions used to track object participants in Swahili, results from the distribution analysis of such expressions in our sample of texts are presented below. Firstly, an overall summary of the number of instances of each referring expression in both texts together is given in Table 9.2. The categories of referring expressions reflect occurrences in the texts. As a result, there is no separate demonstrative category, for example, as no instances of pronominal demonstratives in object positions were found. The category of pronouns is also not counted separately as the only occurrence found was in combination with an OM and it is therefore included in the more general OM+NP section.

As will be seen from the discussion below, the number of relevant examples is comparatively small. There are 108 object referents in total, and when broken down further by animacy or by text type, the relevant numbers become even smaller than

this, ranging from 8 to 75. The sample size is thus too small for drawing statistically significant, quantitative results, which have to await a further, more large-scale study. However, comparing the distribution of different forms, as will be done below, provides a useful way to analyse the data and to see tendencies of usage which contribute to a fuller understanding of the different strategies of referring to objects which are found in the texts studied. The following discussion will thus be based on this, and will provide relevant illustrative examples.

NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON	TOTAL
27	17	33	19	12	108

Table 9.2: Swahili: Referents- Total

In Table 9.2 we can see the distribution of referring expressions across all object positions (108) in the two sample texts. A total of 24 distinct participants were referred to by these expressions, and according to this table, the most commonly used strategy to denote them are object markers on their own - occurring 33 times. This is followed by 27 instances of objects expressed by lexical NPs, 19 omissions of objects, 17 instances of reference by NP in combination with a pronoun (DEM or POSS) and lastly 12 OMs co-occurring with an NP phrase - also including pronouns and combinations with demonstratives. Despite the interesting quantification of these categories, this summary does not adequately reflect the complexities of this paradigm. In order to better understand the distribution, results from each text will be presented separately and more detail is given to the environments where these expressions occur.

First, the results from the text of the retelling of the Pear Story are presented. This text counts 33 object positions in total and 8 different participants which occur at least once as objects. The numbers for each category of referring expressions are noted in Table 9.3.

In tables 9.4 and 9.5, the occurrences of referring expressions are divided for animate and inanimate participants as it has been established from earlier results that animacy

NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON	TOTAL
9	8	7	4	5	33

Table 9.3: Swahili: Object Referents in the Pear Story - Total

affects the presence of OMs - which are the focus of this study. First, the results for animate referents are shown in Table 9.4, followed by inanimate referents in Table 9.5. In each of these tables, the occurrences of referring expressions are divided further according to two factors: the activation status of referents and the contexts in which the expression is used. These categories and their labels were discussed and defined in Section 4.5. For the sake of clarity, the various contexts are summarised again below. The context O2 is not included as it regards direct speech, which is not present in our texts.

Context labelling

O1: occurs in the object position in the previous 2-3 clauses with no potential confusing referent interfering in between

O3: occurs in a different position/role in the previous 2-3 clauses with no potential confusing referent interfering in between

O4: other; includes occurrence earlier than in the previous 2-3 clauses, occurrences after interfering referents, and any other possibility not covered by O1 and O3.

		NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
NEW		-	-	-	-	-
GIVEN	O1	-	-	2	-	-
	O3	-	-	3	-	-
	O4	-	-	-	-	2
ACCESSIBLE	INF.	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL		0	0	5	0	3

Table 9.4: Swahili: Animate object referents in the Pear Story (Total = 8)

		NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
NEW		1	-	-	-	-
GIVEN	O1	3	-	2	4	-
	O3	-	3	-	-	-
	O4	4	5	-	-	2
ACCESSIBLE	INF.	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		9	8	2	4	2

Table 9.5: Swahili: Inanimate object referents in the Pear Story (Total = 25)

		NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
NEW		10	1	-	-	-
GIVEN	O1	1	1	25	7	2
	O3	-	-	1	3	-
	O4	6	6	-	1	2
ACCESSIBLE	INF.	1	1	-	-	3
	AGGR.	-	-	-	4	-
TOTAL		18	9	26	15	7

Table 9.6: Swahili: Inanimate object referents in the recipe (Total = 75)

The results are discussed for each category of expressions individually followed by a section where each alternation is discussed based on individual case studies. These sections therefore answer our research question on the patterns of occurrence of NP+OM (9.3.3)/ only OM (9.3.1.4)/ only NP (9.3.1.1) to refer to objects in Swahili. Furthermore, in section 9.3.2 the research question of whether objects can be completely omitted in Swahili is answered based on patterns found in the analysed texts.

9.3.1.1 NP

Based on the results in the presented tables for Swahili texts, the use of lexical NPs to denote objects does not seem to differ much from what has been said about the use of lexical NPs in texts more generally in the previous chapter. Lexical NPs are used to introduce new participants into the texts but also to express participants already known from preceding discourse. The fact that no instances of NPs appear in the table of animate referents implies two things. Firstly, as NPs are the most common way to denote new referents, this means that no animate participants are introduced into our texts in the object role. Secondly, the lack of NPs for animate given referents points to the fact that when an animate object referent is present it always co-occurs with an OM, a fact that confirms the earlier findings on the near-obligatoriness of object marking for animate participants in Swahili in our data. Therefore, in the next paragraphs only inanimate participants are discussed.

If we first analyse the use of lexical NPs to introduce new referents, we note a great variation depending on the text, or more specifically the genre (although it is difficult to say how much this is representative of these genres generally, based on small sample used here). While a high number of new referents are introduced by lexical NPs in the recipe text, the number is minimal in the case of the Pear Story. But as the numbers for new referents introduced by other expressions are almost at zero, these results in fact point to the fact that not all referents are introduced into the discourse as objects. This is supported by the zero instances of new animate object participants. This therefore goes back to discussion in the Chapter 8 of the common pattern of introducing new

referents in the subject position in Swahili. This is a cross-linguistically interesting observation as the opposite has been often suggested, as discussed in Section 8.3.1.1. As subjects tend to be connected to topic (old information) and objects to focus (new information), this result from our Swahili texts is unexpected. There is also a difference between the results when comparing the two texts. While in the recipe 15 out of a total of 20 participants were firstly mentioned as objects, only 3 out of the 10 participants of the Pear Story were introduced in this way. An additional note has to be made here though, as a number of participants appear for the first time in the narrative also in other roles/positions, such as prepositional phrases. This is exemplified by the extract (10) presented below.

(10) (...) *a-ka-enda kwa rafiki y-ake*
SM1-SUBS-go to 9.friend 9-POSS.1
'(...) and then he went to his friend'

In regards to using lexical NPs to refer back to participants who have already been mentioned in the text, some of the environments described for participant tracking generally, apply to objects too. The most prominent pattern is the use of lexical NPs to refer to a participant after a paragraph boundary, especially in tail-head linking structure. This is also true for objects in Swahili texts, as illustrated by examples (11) and (12).

(11) a. *Kwa hiyo wa-na-i-okota* |
for this SM1-PRS-OM9-pick.up
'So they picked it up'

b. *wa-na-m-rejesh-ea yeye tena* ||
SM2-PRS-OM1-return.CAUS-APPL PRON.3SG again
'they returned (it) to him again'

c. *Wakati wa-ki-m-rejesh-ea* | *kofia* | (...)
time SM2-SIT-OM1-return.CAUS-APPL 9.hat
'When they were returning him the hat(...)'

(12) a. *Halafu ni-ka-tia ma-futa* ||
later SM1SG-SUBS-pour 6-oil
'then I poured oil'

b. *Ni-li-po-tia* *ma-futa* | (...)
SM1-PST-OM16-pour 6-oil
'When I poured oil (...)'

The moderately high number of NPs used in O4 contexts includes mostly references to given but inactive referents and few instances of referents being mentioned after an interfering participant.

9.3.1.2 NP+DEM

Demonstratives are only used in combination with NPs to denote objects in our texts. There are no examples of a demonstrative in a pronominal function. In conjunction with NPs, demonstratives are found to denote participants already present in the discourse. This confirms our general findings from Chapter 8. More specifically, the highest number of NP+DEM expressions are found in non-O1 contexts. This too supports previous findings as O3 and O4 contexts represent less accessible environments than O1 as the participants either appear in a different role than their antecedent or further away from them. An example of the latter from the Swahili recipe is given below (13). The referent *vitunguu* 'onion' was lastly mentioned 10 clauses before this instance.

(13) *ni-na-chukua* *vi-le* *vi-tunguu*
SM1-PRS-take 8-DEMIII 8-onion
'I take those onions'

This type of occurrence of NP+DEM to denote a given, inactive referent is the most common in the sample texts for this category.

9.3.1.3 OM+NP

Object markers co-occurring with lexical NPs show a slightly wider variety of occurrences. They denote both animate participants, as would be expected, but also inanimate ones. Sometimes this category varies in shape, combining further with a demonstrative or occurring with a pronoun rather than a lexical NP. Probably the most

coherent pattern visible from the findings in the table is that this category is used for objects which are given but fairly inactive - supported by the high number of O4 environments linked to them. An example of an OM co-occurring with a NP including a demonstrative is taken from the Swahili folk story (14).

(14) *Chui a-na-mw-imb-ia yu-le sungura kwamba* (...)
1.leopard SM1-PRS-OM1-sing-APPL 1-DEMIII 1.hare that
'Leopard sings to that hare that (...)'

In this case, the referent *sungura* 'hare' is mentioned for the first time in the current paragraph. Even though it was mentioned in the previous paragraph by SM, the paragraph boundary between the occurrence of OM+NP and its antecedent results in the inactive status of the referent.

Another type of referent that seems to be connected to OM+NP expressions is the accessible, inferable referent. There are not many accessible, inferable referents in the Swahili texts, but half of them were expressed by an OM+NP. Most often the inferable referents would be related to another participant in the discourse, often by the part-whole lexical relationship, as in example (15).

(15) *A-na-wa-gaia rafiki z-ake wa-wili*
SM1-PRS-OM2-give 10.friend 10-POSS.1 2-two
'He gave (the apples) to his two friends.'

In this text, the two friends specifically have not been mentioned before this clause. However, they were introduced into the story as a group of three boys, together with their third friend. Therefore, they are accessible by inference from the participant 'the three boys'. This use of OM+NP (15) is not in contrast with its use to denote inactive participants, as both types can be considered accessible but requiring a considerate amount of mental effort to activate in the hearer's mind.

Another pattern worth noting that emerged from our distribution analysis is that new inanimate participants which are introduced into the discourse in the object position never appear with a co-occurring OM. In terms of inanimate participants, the use of the

OM+NP expression seems reserved for given referents. Even though quite a number of participants was introduced into the discourse as an object NP, they were never object marked.

9.3.1.4 OM

Object markers on their own, referring back to an antecedent in the discourse, are a vital referent tracking device in our sample of texts, corresponding to the highest number of occurrences overall. However, when looking at each text individually, the situation changes considerably. Despite what might be expected due to the link of OMs to animate referents, OMs are the most used type of anaphoric expression in the recipe text – lacking animate object participants altogether. On the other hand, only 7 out of the 33 object roles were realised as OMs in the Pear Story. This is a noteworthy result as it stresses the importance of studying the other referring expressions which often alternate with OMs in denoting given participants in discourse.

Among the instances when OMs were used are some expected references to animate participants, but the vast majority is to track inanimate object participants, especially in the recipe text. The use of OMs seems to be reserved for environments where the antecedent is present in the close preceding discourse, as shown by the vast majority of 01 contexts connected to their use. Some examples are given below.

(16) a. *Tu-li-tayarisha vi-ungo vy-ote vy-a pilau*|
SM1PL-PST-prepare 8-spice 8-all 8-CONN 9.pilau
'We prepared all the pilau spices'

b. *tu-ka-vyo-weka tayari.*
SM1PL-SUBS-OM8-put ready
'Then we get them ready.'

(17) a. *tu-ka-u-chukua mw-ingine*|
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-take 3-other
'We then take another (about mkaa 'coal')'

b. *tu-ka-u-weka juu*
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-put up
'then we put it on top.'

Despite the clear link of OMs to one context, namely to denote given referents whose antecedent is present within the preceding 2-3 clauses, the use of OMs still encompasses many complexities. Mainly, while it could be implied that when an OM occurs it is likely to be in an O1 context, the reverse is not true. In our texts, OMs covered only about half of the overall number of O1 contexts with object ellipsis and other ways to denote objects also found to occur often. The question thus still remains of what defines the alternation of these strategies. This will be discussed in Section 9.3.2 further down.

9.3.1.5 Object ellipsis

As was briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, object ellipsis occurred more in the recorded texts than was expected given previous research. Object ellipsis has often not been considered a basic Swahili structure, with occasional occurrences taken as marginal. However, in our data instances of object drop were as frequent as in Makhuwa, where this structure is said to occur commonly. The number of object ellipses in the sample texts overall was not as high as other referring expressions such as OMs but there are more instances of object drop than NP+DEM in our sample Swahili texts. It is also worth noting that, unlike other expressions, object ellipsis is found across both genres in roughly the same proportion.

The distribution across genres is an important consideration, as some text types are cross-linguistically more predisposed to the occurrence of certain structures. In the case of object ellipsis, recipes are a good example of this. Bubel & Spitz (2013) make the following observation on linguistic structures in English recipes: '(...) syntactic elements are frequently omitted; this holds both for subject noun phrases (clean and cook spinach) or even entire object noun phrases referring to ingredients (remove from heat)'(Bubel & Spitz 2013: 161). This is further supported by Wilson (2014) who considers contextually omitted objects 'the most significant marker of recipe style' (Wilson 2014: 182).

Swahili parallels of omitted objects denoting ingredients in recipes are indeed present

in our texts, as can be seen in the following examples. Example (18) both (a) and (b) recount steps about the preparation of *nyama* 'meat' but the referent is never overtly expressed, only implied and understood from previous context. In Example (19) a list of vegetables is presented (a) and subsequently cut (b). Again, however, none of the referents are overtly mentioned, but obvious from the preceding context.

(18) a. *tu-ka-epua pale jiko-ni*|
SM1PL-SUBS-remove 16.DEMIII stove-LOC
'We then remove (it) from the stove'

b. *tu-ka-weka pembeni*|
SM1PL-SUBS-put aside
'we then put (it) aside.'

(19) a. *i-li-kuwa ni vi-tunguu, na nyanya, na pilipili kidogo, na limau*
sm9-pst-be cop 8-onion and 9.tomato and 9.chilli a.little and 9.lime
'it was onions, tomatoes, a little bit of chilli peppers and lime'

b. *tu-na-katakata*
SM1PL-PRS-cut
'we then cut (them)'

What is unexpected is that object ellipsis structures are also found in narrative texts. Below is an example from the Pear Story (20) and another complementing example (21) from a folk storiy which shows that this structure also occurs in other narratives.

(20) a. *Vile ki-jana a-na-rejea na ma-tunda yake ma-tatu* |
8DEMIII 7-youth SM1-PRS-return with 6-fruit 6POSS3SG 6-three
'That boy comes back with his three pieces of fruit'

b. *A-na-wa-gaia rafiki z-ake wa-wili*
SM1-PRS-OM2-give 10.friend 10-POSS3SG 2-two
'He gave (them) to his two friends.'

(21) a. *a-na-menya* |
SM1-PRS-peel
'he peels (them) (about bananas)'

b. *a-na-tupa ma-ganda* |
SM1-PRS-throw 6-peel
'he throws the peels'

This example is taken from a paragraph in the story which depicts the leopard climbing

up a tree and eating bananas. In the presented extract the referent *ndizi* ‘bananas’ is implied from the context but not expressed by any overt expression, providing us with another example of object ellipsis.

An important note to make about object ellipsis in Swahili is the fact that it is not always easy to identify. This is connected to issues of transitivity discussed in Section 3.4.3. Consider the following example from the Pear Story involving the verb *kula* ‘to eat’.

(22) a. *Mara a-na-wa-ona wa-le vi-jana* |
time SM1-PRS-OM2-see 2-DEMIII 8-youth
‘At the time when he sees thouse boys’

b. *wa-na-pita* |
SM2-PRS-pass
‘they pass by’

c. *wa-na ma-tunda ya-le mkono-ni* |
SM2-have 6-fruit 6-DEMIII hand-LOC
‘they have that fruit in their hands’

d. *wa-na-kula* ||
SM2-PRS-eat
‘they eat (them).’

In this example the referent *matunda* ‘apples’ is mentioned by NP+DEM (22c) and subsequently omitted in the next clause with verb *kula* ‘eat’. This verb, however, has attracted some attention cross-linguistically, in regards with transitivity and therefore occurrence with(out) an object.

> “Eat or drink are often seen as some of the most prototypical members of the class of transitive verbs (Naess 2009). However, sentences such as Mike ate are also possible (Levin 1993). Crosslinguistic comparison indicates that these verbs show some features of intransitive verbs. This seems possible since verbs of indigestion, but also verbs of food preparation (e.g. bake), are “understood to have as object something that qualifies as a typical object of the verb” (Levin 1993: 33). In other words, the object can get deleted because of its obviousness in the process of food consumption or

> production. Furthermore, these verbs have an "affected agent participant" (Naes 2009: 27) (the food), which means "the participants [are not] maximally semantically distinct in terms of the role they play in the event," (Naes 2009: 27) another indication that eat is not the most prototypical member of the class of transitive verbs." (Gerhardt 2013: 20)

This poses a difficulty for our discussion in terms of evaluating what should be considered an object ellipsis or not. However, as we have demonstrated for locative elements in Section 7.3.3, this study has taken an usage-based approach. Instances are therefore looked for, at best within the same text, which show the different uses of the same or similar verbs. In this case, our example can be compared with the following sentence from the same story, occurring few paragraphs earlier.

(23) a. *Wa-na-kula ma-tunda y-ale* |
SM2-PRS-eat 6-fruit 6-DEMIII
'They eat that fruit'

b. *wakati wa-ki-enda*
time SM2-sit-go
'while they went.'

The occurrence of the verb *kula* 'eat' with exactly the same participants (the subject refers to the three boys) shows a pattern where *matunda* 'apples' is expressed by NP+DEM as the specified object. Based on this example it is easier to understand the object ellipsis in (22) above as an alternative choice of the speakers, influenced by discourse factors as discussed further.

The following sections will now therefore discuss which factors affect the choice between the use of an OM to any other referring expression possible in that instance starting precisely from object ellipsis.

9.3.2 OM vs. object ellipsis

In Section 9.2, two Swahili examples where presented to show that a referent from the previous discourse is sometimes denoted by an OM and at other times omitted.

(24) *A-na-zi-fungua ndizi, a-na-menya, a-na-kula.*
SM1-PRS-OM10-open 10.banana SM1-PRS-peel SM1-PRS-eat
'He opens bananas, he peels (them), he eats (them)'

(25) *A-na-chungulia ndani ya ndoo na a-na-chukua simu y-ake, a-na-i-toa.*
SM1-PRS-look.into inside CONN bucket and SM1-PRS-take 9.phone 9-POSS.3SG SM1-PRS-OM1-take.out
'He looks inside the bucket and take his phone, he takes it out.'

In addition, the distribution analysis of our sample texts revealed that quite often these two ways of expressing an object referent (OM and zero-anaphora) alternate in the same contexts, such as O1. Therefore, in this section factors such as the activation status of referents, the progression of coding and text structure are used to better understand the alternations.

The analysis focuses on a detailed discussion of one example. On the basis of this example, a hypothesis is formulated and then checked against other examples. For a clearer contrast, I start by analysing an example of this alternation occurring within the same text and involving the same participant.

In example (26) and (27) there are two paragraphs taken from different parts of the retelling of the Pear story. The focus here is on the way the referent matunda 'fruit' is tracked. Note that this example has been discussed in Chapter 7 in terms of its subject marking.

(26) a. *Wakati a-na-vuna ma-tunda a-na-panda juu na*
time SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit SM1-PRS-climb up and
'When he is picking fruit, he climbs up and'

b. *ku-shuka na ku-weka katika vi-kapu vyake.*
NARR.INF-climb.down and NARR.INF-put in 8-baskets 8POSS3SG
'he climbs down and puts (the fruit) in his baskets.'

In this example (26), we are interested in the last clause of line (26b) *kuweka katika vikapu vyake* 'to put in his basket'. The narrator is talking about the fruit that has just been picked (26b), but this object is not overtly expressed. Compare this to the following example (27):

(27) a. *Wa-na-tokea* *vi-jana* *wa-tatu* *wa-na-m-saidia*
SM2-PRS-come.out 8-youth 2-three SM2-PRS-OM1-help
'Three boys appeared, they help him'

b. *ku-kusanya* *ma-tunda* *yale* *na* *ku-ya-rejesha* *katika* *ki-kapu*
INF-pick.up 6-fruit 6.DEMIII and INF-OM6-return in 7-basket
'pick up that fruit and put it back in the basket.'

Observe the last clause of this example: *kuyarejesha katika kikapu* 'to put it back in his basket' in (27b). This clause is very similar to the clause discussed above for example (26). The discourse participant *matunda* 'fruit' is the same as in the previous example, but the narrator on this occasion chose to refer to this participant by using an OM on the verb *rejesha* 'return, put back'. Another similarity between the two examples is that the referent 'fruit' is given and active, i.e. mentioned in close past proximity. In fact, in both examples the antecedent is present within the same IS.

Both clauses in question are also ditransitive, therefore with a resembling argument structure - although each with different semantic roles linked to them. However, they both involve a theme/patient and a locative (both occur with the locative element 'in the basket(s)'). *Weka* 'put, place' has a theme/patient object and a location stemming from the meaning 'to put something somewhere'. *Rejesha* 'return, put back' is a causative form derived from the verb *rejea* 'return' and in signifies 'to cause something/someone to return somewhere', i.e. 'to return something somewhere, to put it back'. Whether the fact that one of the verbs is intrinsically ditransitive and the other one is derived effects the referent tracking is still unclear.

Our focus is therefore on what drives the choice of a referring expression rather than another. As has been noted already, the activation status of the referents does not bring much clarity as in both instances the referent is given and active. When taking into consideration the continued topicality of the referent in the IS, both examples can be seen to have an uninterrupted object chain, i.e. no interfering object occurring between the referring expression (or lack of it) and its antecedent.

The same two examples were next examined in the context of the text structure of their discourse environment. Below both extracts are repeated, this time completed

with the rest of their Intonation Sentence.

(28) a. *Wakati a-na-vuna ma-tunda* |
time SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit
'When he is picking fruit,'

b. *a-na-panda juu* |
sm1-prs-climb up
'he climbs up'

c. *na ku-shuka* |
and INF-descend
'and he climbs down'

d. *na ku-weka katika vi-kapu vyake* ||
and INF-put in 8-basket 8POSS3SG
'and puts (the fruit) in his baskets.'

(29) a. *Wa-na-tokea vi-jana wa-tatu* |
SM2-PRS-come.out 8-youth 2-three
'Three boys appeared'

b. *wa-na-m-saidia* |
SM2-PRS-OM1-help
'helped him'

c. *ku-kusanya ma-tunda yale na* |
INF-collect 6-fruit 6.DEMIII and
'pick up that fruit and'

d. *ku-ya-rejesha katika ki-kapu* |
INF-OM6-return.CAUS in 7-basket
'put it back in the basket.'

e. *na wa-na-m-saidia ku-nyanyua baisikeli yake* |
and SM2-PRS-OM1-help INF-collect 9.bycicle 9POSS3G
'and they helped him collect his bike'

f. *na wa-na-pakia ma-tunda yale* |
and SM2-PRS-load 6-fruit 6DEMIII
'and they loaded that fruit'

g. *na wa-na-ondoka* ||
and SM2-PRS-leave
'and left'

In terms of the text structure features, the two extracts show certain differences. The clause with the zero-anaphora occurs at the very end of the Is (IS), while the clause with the corresponding OM instance is found in the middle of the IS. This pattern is

recognisable from our discussion on narrative infinitives (see Section 8.2). Just like with subject marking, in these examples it appears that argument ellipsis occurs in IS-final positions.

Another example of a similar alternation of the same referent comes from a Swahili recipe.

(30) a. *Tu-ka-u-osha* |
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-wash
'Then we washed it'

b. *ni-ka-tia kwenye* |*i-le sufuria ya supu*
SM1SG-SUBS-put in 9-DEMIII 9.pot 9.CONN 9.soup
'then I put (it) in that soup pot'

c. *amba-yo i-li-kuwa na vi-ungo na kila ki-tu* |
REL-9 SM9-PST-be with 8-spice and each 7-thing
'which had the spices and everything'

This IS talks about the preparation of rice, therefore the relevant referent is *mchele* 'rice'. In (30a) this referent is expressed by the corresponding OM while in (30b) this referent is omitted completely. This IS is the second of two ISs forming a paragraph and the referent is mentioned as a lexical NP in the previous IS, right before this extract. When considering the factors discussed in regards to the previous example, here too the object ellipsis occurs in the more 'final' of the two clauses.

These are a few individual cases and no generalisation emerges from them. What follows is only a hypothesis based on other factors which have been attested to influence reference expressions and object marking cross-linguistically and offer a possible way in which this pattern could be interpreted.

It has been shown in the examples above that both an OM and zero-anaphora can occur when the antecedent is mentioned within the same IS and is therefore of a given-active activation status. However, on closer inspection, object drop appears to occur more often in IS-final position, i.e. the last time a referent is mentioned in one IS. This could be interpreted as signalling that this referent is no longer relevant, at least for the close forthcoming events.

If we consider this from the other end, we can draw out the hypothesis that OMs are used if the referent is mentioned in the subsequent discourse, i.e. if it is considered significant for the coming part of the discourse. OMs would then be used only with the intention of mentioning the same participant again within the same IS and consequently, object ellipsis would be possible only if the participant is no longer relevant for the given IS or more generally for the immediate future, at least in the intentions of the speaker.

This hypothesis is developed based on the concept of 'subsequent importance' attested to affect discourse strategies in several languages and discussed in Section 4.3.2. As noted there, whether a referent is mentioned in the subsequent discourse has been found to affect, for example, occurrences of certain determiners as well as topicality markers (Jaggar 1988, Dabir-Moghaddam 1992). Moreover, Givòn (1983) as well as Hopper and Thompson (1984) propose coding referents for their subsequent importance by counting the occurrences of the referent in the following text after the relevant expression. The importance of this element in discourse has also been linked specifically to object marking, although with a further stress on topicality and subject position, as explained below. An analysis of subsequent importance in discourse is developed by von Heusinger and Kaiser (2010) for Romanian differential object marking. Von Heusinger and Kaiser (2010) discuss the 'topic shift potential' of a certain category of objects in the following way:

> "...*pe*- marked indefinite objects are more likely than bare indefinite objects to be realized in subject position in subsequent discourse, thus they show a "topic shift potential" assuming that subjects express topics. It is worth noting that this shifting function can also be expressed with the choice of referring expression (i.e. whether the subject of the second sentence is a personal pronoun or a demonstrative determiner...)" (von Heusinger & Kaiser 2010:146)

In our examples, it is not really the case that the referent is expressed in the subject position in the subsequent clauses, although occurrences of this structure are also found

in our text (see example below). More generally, a parallel to von Heusinger and Kaiser's (2010) hypothesis could be made with Swahili, considering the use of OMs rather than object ellipsis as an indication that referents denoted by OMs are more likely than the ones which are omitted to be realised in subsequent discourse.

Going back to our case study with the *matunda* example - repeated below as (31) and (32), this hypothesis is now applied. In the object ellipsis example (31) the relevant clause is at the very end of the IS and the referent *matunda* 'fruit' will not be mentioned again in the same IS. As this IS is also followed by a paragraph boundary, we can say that within the paragraph the referent has low relevance for the upcoming discourse. In the object marked example (32) on the other hand, the situation is quite different. The relevant clause is in the middle of an IS and within this IS the referent 'fruit' will be mentioned again. It is therefore possible that the OM signals exactly this: relevance for the forthcoming discourse.

(31) a. *Wakati a-na-vuna ma-tunda* |
time SM1-PRS-pick 6-fruit
'When he is picking fruit,'

b. *a-na-panda juu* |
sm1-prs-climb up
'he climbs up'

c. *na ku-shuka* |
and INF-descend
'and he climbs down'

d. *na ku-weka (0) katika vi-kapu vyake* ||
and INF-put (0) in 8-basket 8POSS3SG
'and puts (the fruit) in his baskets.'

(32) a. *Wa-na-tokea vi-jana wa-tatu* |
SM2-PRS-come.out 8-youth 2-three
'Three boys appeared'

b. *wa-na-m-saidia* |
SM2-PRS-OM1-help
'helped him'

c. *ku-kusanya ma-tunda yale na* |
INF-collect 6-fruit 6.DEMIII and
'pick up that fruit and'

d. *ku-ya-rejesha katika ki-kapu* |
INF-OM6-return.CAUS in 7-basket
'put it back in the basket.'

e. *na wa-na-m-saidia ku-nyanyua baisikeli yake* |
and SM2-PRS-OM1-help INF-collect 9.bycicle 9POSS3G
'and they helped him collect his bike'

f. *na wa-na-pakia ma-tunda yale* |
and SM2-PRS-load 6-fruit 6DEMIII
'and they loaded that fruit'

g. *na wa-na-ondoka* ||
and SM2-PRS-leave
'and left'

Given this hypothesis, it might appear surprising that when the referent 'fruit' is mentioned for the last time in the above example, and as a consequence shouldn't have much relevance for the coming discourse, it is expressed by a full NP (32c) rather than simply dropped as in example (31). The difference here, however, is that in the preceding clause**??** a different object is present, namely *baisikeli* 'the bicycle', interfering with the object chain of the referent *matunda* 'fruit'. As a consequence, the continuity is interrupted and the referent is reintroduced as it is no longer as accessible and cannot be omitted.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind that these are just tendencies and they reflect speakers' individual choices of enfolding discourse structure. Despite numerous examples in our text which follow this model, these pattern are not fully predictive. Counterexamples can be found in the text and the alternation between OMs and object ellipsis is still surrounded by many questions. Nevertheless, text structure and subsequent importance are among the discourse factors which need more attention in Swahili as they, too, seem to interact with other factors affecting object marking and referent tracking in general.

Before moving onto the next section a last issue has to be noted about the object ellipsis as an alternative to object marking due to structural morphosyntactic factors. Although only with few instances, a second type of object-drop constructions found in the data set involves double object constructions. Consider the following example

which talks about the participant *kofiya* ‘hat’. In (33a) this referent, just mentioned in the preceding discourse, is referenced by OM. In the following clause (33b), however, it is omitted.

(33) a. *Kwa hiyo wa-na-i-okota* |
for this SM1-PRS-OM9-pick.up
‘So they picked it up’

b. *wa-na-m-reji-shea yeye tena* ||
SM2-PRS-OM1-return-CAUS PRON.3SG again
‘they returned (it) to him again’

Here, the direct object is not overtly expressed. In light of what has been said, this could simply follow the hypothesis that the object is considered relevant for the future discourse and is therefore dropped. The reason this could be considered non-canonical is that there are formal restrictions on the ways in which the object could be expressed here, specifically on the occurrence of object marking. Swahili belongs to the group of Bantu languages which allows only one OM on each verb form (Marten & Kula 2012). As a consequence, the OM is not an available option to refer back to the missing referent here, because the object marking slot on the verb is occupied by the OM referring to the recipient. This latter referent is animate and belongs to noun class 1/2 which makes it a highly likely candidate for object marking.

This is despite the fact that the ‘missing’ object is highly topical, which would under other circumstances make it probable referent to object-mark too. Moreover, in this specific example a personal pronoun is also used. This refers to the same animate referent as the OM (‘he’) and the pronoun appears to be used for special emphasis (focus).

Although this example fits our hypothesis on object drop, it is important to keep in mind that structural factors can affect this in double object constructions too. It also has to be noted, however, that this type of object ellipsis still only occurs under certain discourse conditions, such as that the object is mentioned in the immediate preceding context and therefore easily retrievable.

9.3.3 The use of OM + NP in Swahili texts

Another referent-tracking strategy which requires more attention is the use of an OM in combination with the full NP. This has been linked to topicality, definiteness and specificity but the exact use of such a strategy remains uncertain. Bearth (2003) notes for Swahili OM co-occurring with the lexical NP that, aside from human referents which are usually object marked, the OM occurs with the NP if 'the referent of the object is already established as a discourse topic' (Bearth 2003: 123). While this fits some examples, it is also clear that it does not suffice as an explanation, as many referents which are well established as discourse topics are found without the corresponding OM. Therefore more needs to be said about the discourse conditions of the occurrence of OM+NP. The following section therefore focuses on an instance of use of OM and full NP to investigate the discourse environment in which it occurs.

Consider the following example (34) from the retelling of the Pear story where an OM in combination with a full NP is used to refer to a discourse participant. The object of interest is *kofia* 'hat' belonging to class 9. After first being mentioned with an OM + NP (34b), this object is referred to by an OM in the subsequent section of discourse and is even dropped in the last clause (34d), in line with our hypothesis on object ellipsis in the previous section.

(34) a. *A-ki-wa mbele kidogo* |
SM1-SIT-be ahead a.bit
'When he was a bit ahead'

b. *wale vijana wa-na-i-ona kofia yake* |
2.DEMIII 8.youth SM2-PRS-OM9-see 9.hat 9.POSS.1
'those boys see his hat'

c. *I-me-anguka chini* | *Kwa hiyo* |
SM9-PRF-fall down | therefore
'it has fallen down. Therefore'

d. *wa-na-i-okota* | *wa-na-m-rejesh-ea yeye*
SM2-PRS-OM9-pick SM2-PRS-OM1-return.CAUS-APPL PRON.3SG
tena ||
again
'they pick it up, they return (it) to him again.'

As this IS constitutes a paragraph on its own in the narrative, it is possible to say that this extract exhibits a good example of the discussed in-paragraph progression of referent coding. The object is expressed by increasingly lighter coding starting with OM+NP (34b), to OM and subsequently to zero-anaphora (34d).

An analysis of text structure will now help to describe in more details the discourse conditions under which the OM occurs with the full NP. In order to describe the context adequately, a part of the preceding text has to be included. The referent *kofia* 'hat' was mentioned briefly a few paragraphs before the section discussed here. As a consequence, in our example its activation status would be characterised as 'accessible', i.e. semi-active in the hearer's mind. Below is the previous discourse divided into ISs. Apart from the occurrence of the OM and full NP we can see in bold the last time the referent was mentioned before then (line (35c) is simply ex.(34) repeated, for glossing see above).

(35) a. *Baada ya ku-pishana na m-sichana njia-ni* | ***kofia*** *yake*
after of INF-passing with 1-girl 9.way-LOC | **9.hat** 9POSS3SG
i-na-dondoka chini | *na kwa hiyo a-na-geuka nyuma* | *na*
SM9-PRS-fall down | and for this SM1-PRS-turn back | and
baisikeli yake moja kwa moja i-na-gonga katika ji-we na
9.bycicle 9POSS3SG one by one SM9-PRS-bump in 5-stone and
a-na-anguka chini | *(...)*
SM1-PRS-fall down | (...)
'After passing by the girl in the way, his **hat** fell down, and therefore he turns back, and his bike goes straight into a stone and he falls down, (...)'

b. (...) 2xIS (...)

c. *Akiwa mbele kidogo* | *wale vijana* | *wana**i**ona* ***kofia*** *yake* | *imeanguka chini* | (...)
'When he was a bit ahead, those boys, they saw the **hat**, it fell down.'

The two occurrences of the referent *kofia* 'hat' are two intonation sentences and have a whole other paragraph in between them. This referent is therefore very likely to be inactive in the hearer's mind and will require a substantial amount of effort on the

hearer's side. The coding strategy of OM + NP therefore seems to be connected to the reactivation of a semi-active referent that has not been mentioned for a while.

Another use that has been attested for object marking co-occurring with the corresponding NP has to do with text structuring. The combination of OM+NP can be found at the very beginning of a new paragraph, as shown in the example below from the Swahili folk story about the hare and the leopard.

(36) a. *chui baada ya ku-panda juu* |
9.leopard after of INF-climb up
'leopard after climbing up'

b. *i-ka-wa na-kula zile ndizi* ||
SM9-SUBS-be PRS-eat 10DEMIII 10.banana
'he was eating those bananas'

c. *a-na-zi-fungua ndizi* |
SM1-PRS-OM10-open 10.banana
'he open the bananas'

d. *a-na-menya* |
SM1-PRS-peel
'he peels (them)'

e. *a-na-kula* |
SM1-PRS-eat
'he eats (them)'

f. *chini a-na-tupa ma-ganda* ||
down SM1-PRS-throw 6-peel
'down he throws the peels'

In this example, the OM+ NP occurs in line (c), which is the first IU of a new paragraph. Unlike our previous examples the OM+NP here does not recall a referent mentioned in the distant past discourse. The referent *ndizi* 'bananas' has in fact been mentioned in the previous IU. However, if the paragraph boundaries are considered, a degree of similarity is found with example (34). As the OM+NP is used at the very beginning of a new paragraph the referent is not as active anymore. In section 4.3.1 the hypothesis that the activation status of referents is reset at paragraph boundaries has been explored. With this in mind, the example presented above can also be linked to OM +NP reactivating a semi-active referent. And in turn, in terms of text structuring, the

OM+NP expression used for referent tracking in *anazifungua ndizi* signals the start of a new episode and together with prosody marks a paragraph boundary.

To further support this use of OM+NP expressions another example is presented, taken from a Swahili recipe. This completes the discussion by showing the occurrence of this pattern across genres.

(37) a. (...) *ni-ka-menya* *vi-tunguu* | *na* *mbatata* | *na* *vi-azi* ||
SM1SG-SUBS-peel 8-onion and 9.potato and 8-sweet.potato
'I then peeled the onion and potatoes and sweey potatoes'

b. *halafu* | *ni-ka-vi-katakata* *vi-tunguu* | (...)
after SM1-SUBS-OM8-cut 8-onion
'After that I then cut the onions, (...)'

Like the previous example, the OM+NP coding (line b) is used here to refer to a participant following a paragraph boundary. As already discussed, this results in the participant - that is not the topic of this chunk of text – being less accessible, and heavier coding is needed for its tracking.

9.3.4 Discourse topicality

Throughout the last section, the concept of discourse topicality has been mentioned as influencing the referent tracking of participants in object roles. This section will therefore briefly discuss this topic in relation to object marking.

As has been explained the previous chapter, the discourse topicality of referents means that they need on certain occasions less coding than would otherwise be expected. This is especially clear when they do not need to be re-introduced after a paragraph boundary and it is no different for object participants.

In the following example, an OM is used on its own to denote a participant even though that participant has not been referred to before in this paragraph.

(38) a. *Wa-na-tokea* *vi-jana* *wa-tatu* |
SM2-PRS-come.out 8-youth 2-three
'Three boys appeared'

b. *wa-na-m-saidia* |
SM2-PRS-OM1-help
'They help him'

c. *ku-kusanya ma-tunda yale* | *(...)*
INF-collect 6-fruit 6DEMIII
'to collect that fruit'

This is due to the discourse topicality of the referent ('the young boy') which the OM in (38b) refers to. The same referent is the topic of this part of the story, as the surrounding paragraphs describe his accident on the bike. He therefore does not need to be reintroduced by heavier coding in the new paragraph, unlike other participants in the story.

Another example shows a very rare instance of object ellipsis from the beginning of an IS which is itself at the start of a paragraph.

(39) a. *Nyi m-na-po-kuwa huko ulaya* |
2PL.PRON SM2PL-PRS-OM16-be there europe
'You who are in Europe'

b. *M-na-tia si-ju-i kwenye grill* |
SM2PL-PRS-put SM1SG.NEG-know-NEG in 9.grill
'you put (it), I don't know, on the grill'

c. *au si-ju-i ndo kwenye oven* |
or SM1SG.NEG-know-NEG indeed in oven
'or, I don't know, in the oven'

This extract is taken from the Swahili recipe on how to cook *pilau*, a typical East African dish. This section talks precisely about the main product *pilau* in its final stage of preparation. The referent I has a very high discourse topicality as it is the topic of the whole text: a recipe of how to cook it. This perhaps explains the otherwise unlikely object omission (39b) despite the referent not being mentioned beforehand within the IS. Although, it should also be noted that *pilau* is the last object mentioned in the preceding context and is therefore not too difficult to reconstruct.

9.3.5 Comparison of commentary and retelling texts

As a comparison of the referent tracking in the commentary and the retelling texts has already been discussed in the previous chapter, this section offers only few additional notes specifically on object tracking.

The two versions of the Swahili Pear Story show differences in the tracking of objects linked to the factors discussed above. While in the commentary type given objects are mostly referred to by an OM, in the retelling type referents are both object marked as well as sometimes omitted. If we consider the proposed influence of subsequent importance, a possible link can be made to this pattern. In the commentary type of texts, the narrator can base his choice of referring expressions only on the past discourse, as he does not know how the future events will evolve and what role a participant might (not) play in them. The use of object ellipsis has been linked to environments, where the speaker does not have the intention to refer to the participant any further in the future discourse. Therefore, a possible hypothesis is that object ellipsis does not occur in commentary text as the speaker cannot discard the referent based on his intentions as he is not aware of the storyline ahead. The abundant use of OMs, on the other hand, could be viewed almost as a 'place-holder', i.e. a way to refer to the participant not knowing his importance for the future. In other words, if the future discourse is unknown, it is more difficult for the narrator to consider a referent as not relevant for the rest of the paragraph and to omit it as a consequence. An OM, on the other hand, has a wider use and provides a better choice for this 'unsure' environment. To exemplify this, below is an extract from the Pear Story commentary with OMs referring to given objects highlighted. No instance of object ellipsis is found in this extract.

(40) *Anachuma matunda na ku**YA**angusha chini na sasa anateremka. Ana mkoba ambamo ameweka matunda ndani yake. Anateremka chini na kumimina matunda chini. Ana**YA**toa katika mfuko. Ana**YA**weka katika vikapu. Na sasa anageuka upande mwingine, anachukua matunda aliyuko chini, na ku**YA**weka.. ku**YA**futa mavumbi kidogo na ku**YA**weka ndani ya vikapu.*

'He picks the fruit and he drops **IT** down and now he descends. He has a bag into which he has put fruit. He descends down and he spills the fruit on the floor. He takes **IT** into the bag. He puts **IT** in the baskets. And now he turns to the other side, he takes the fruit which is on the floor and puts **IT** (in). He cleans it from the dust a little bit and puts **IT** inside the baskets.'

The much higher occurrence of OMs for given objects and the lack of object ellipsis therefore supports our hypothesis on the connection of the alternation of these expressions to the future discourse, although more research is needed to establish the exact discourse conditions for one or the other.

9.3.6 Swahili object tracking: a summary

What has become clear from the research on objects in Swahili discourse, is that Swahili employs a complex paradigm of expressions to refer back to objects, affected by different discourse factors.

Once it has been established that OMs (on their own or in conjunction with NPs) are used to refer back to participants in discourse, the study of their occurrence was placed in a referent-tracking context. As a consequence, factors such as the activation status or the weight of phonological coding of the referents help us understand alternations. The activation status of referents, for example, can be linked to the choice of a speaker to use an OM with inanimate referents where it is optional, as given referents are more likely to be object marked than new ones. Moreover, the OM in combination with a full NP appears to be used for the reactivation of semi-active referents that have been mentioned relatively far in the past discourse. Furthermore, the position of a referring expression within the discourse structure too is found to influence its form. A paragraph boundary heavily affects the referring expressions which follow it and the position of a clause within an IS or paragraph seem to correlate, at least in part, with the OM/ellipsis alternation.

Most importantly, many discourse factors simultaneously need to be considered to

understand object marking as a referent tracking strategy. These include activation status, text structure, discourse topicality as well as subsequent importance in discourse.

9.4 Tracking of object participants in Makhuwa

For the Makhuwa texts, the situation with object marking is not as complex due to the limited object marking paradigm. However, having explored the complexities of denoting objects in Swahili discourse, the Makhuwa object referent tracking system can now be discussed to compare the resulting patterns and see the effect of the morphosyntactic differences between the two languages.

9.4.1 Paradigm of referring expressions

For the sake of comparison, a parallel overview of referring expressions, corresponding to the Swahili one already discussed, is presented in this section. The exact same exercise of analysing the distribution of expressions across two sample texts was performed for Makhuwa and the results can be seen in Table 9.8.

NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON	TOTAL
20	19	2	21	3	65

Table 9.7: Makhuwa: Referents- Total

The distribution of the various referring expressions within the overall 65 object positions can be seen in the table above. The number of participants referred to by these expressions is 44 in total. When compared to the Swahili 108 object positions and 24 participants overall, it becomes clear that these are only an orientation value to see the occurrences within a language as the figures are too small for proportional comparison.

For Makhuwa an interesting note is the very balanced distribution between the three categories covering most of the referring expression, namely NP, NP+DEM/POSS

and zero-anaphora. The question of their alternative distribution therefore emerged as needing special attention. The low occurrences of OMs and OM+NP are expected given the unavailability of OMs for most referents and considering that only four animate participants appear in an object role in the analysed sample of texts.

As for Swahili, first the distribution of expressions in the Pear Story and then the recipe are now discussed in more detail.

NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON	TOTAL
11	10	2	5	3	31

Table 9.8: Makhuwa: Object referents in the Pear Story - Total

In the Pear Story, a total of 31 object positions were shared by 10 participants. Out of these participants, four belong to the 1 and 2 noun class and 7 to the remaining noun classes. As this is a factor which affects object marking, the discussion is further divided according to noun class membership.

		NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
NEW		-	-	-	-	2
GIVEN	O1	-	-	2	-	-
	O3	-	-	-	-	1
	O4	-	-	-	-	-
ACCESSIBLE	INF.	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		0	0	2	0	3

Table 9.9: Makhuwa: Object referents of class 1 and 2 in the Pear Story

Similarly as with the previous section on Swahili, these sections will now answer the research questions on the patterns of occurrence of the various referring expressions in Makhuwa. In 9.4.1.1 the occurrence of NP+OM and OM only is discussed, while 9.4.1.2 looks at occurrences of lexical NPs. Section 9.4.1.3 answers the question of whether objects can be completely omitted in Makhuwa and under which circumstances does this occur (9.4.2).

		NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
NEW		2	2	-	-	-
GIVEN	O1	4	3	-	5	-
	O3	-	3	-	-	-
	O4	3	2	-	-	-
ACCESSIBLE	INF.	2	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		11	10	-	5	-

Table 9.10: Makhuwa: Object referents of all ‘non 1 and 2’ noun classes in the Pear Story

		NP	NP+DEM/POSS	OM	0	OM+NP(+DEM)/ OM+PRON
NEW		5	2	-	-	-
GIVEN	O1	2	3	-	12	-
	O3	-	-	-	-	-
	O4	1	1	-	-	-
ACCESSIBLE	INF.	1	-	-	-	-
	AGGR.	-	1	-	4	-
TOTAL		9	9	-	16	-

Table 9.11: Makhuwa: Object referents ‘non 1 and 2’ in a recipe

9.4.1.1 OM & OM+NP (+DEM)

These two categories are discussed together here because of their very limited occurrence. The instances of class 1 and 2 referents in our sample texts are too few to see any patterns and therefore only a very simplistic observation can be made. A co-occurring OM with NP seems to be used when introducing a referent and an anaphoric OM when the referent has already been mentioned.

However, the example below is taken from the middle of a Makhuwa folk story, where the referent in question - the leopard - despite already having been mentioned numerous times, is denoted by the co-occurrence of an OM +NP (including also a demonstrative). This example, discussed in Chapter 8 for its demonstrative, is taken from a text not included in the distribution analysis in order to illustrate alternative patterns.

(41) *phu-n-lepel-aka havara oyo | (...)*
NARR-OM1-beg-DUR 1.leopard 1.DEMII
'He begged that leopard.'

Thus, the use of either only an OM or OM+NP is clearly more complex here too. The additional example of OM+NP coding for O3 contexts in our sample texts could point to a situation where this expression is used if the referent is less accessible, such as if present in previous discourse but in a different role (O3 context). The tracking of class 1 and 2 nouns in Makhuwa discourse therefore requires more attention in further studies.

9.4.1.2 NP + DEM/POSS

The various different contexts (almost all of them) in which NP + DEM/POSS expressions occur confirms its rich and complex use as tracking device in Makhuwa mentioned several times before in this study. A future more detailed study on the link between the different types of demonstratives and specific contexts might shed more light on this system. For this study, it is perhaps useful to note the unusual use of

this expression to introduce new referents, discussed in Section 8.2 on possessives, common in the recipe genre but also found here in the Pear Story.

(42) a. *tootho axi-lopwana pho-ona-aya* |
also 2.DIM-man NARR-see-POSS2
'Also the men saw'

b. *wiira ho-liyala ele ekofiy'-awe* |
COMP SM1.PRF.CJ-forget 9.DEMIII 9.hat-POSS3SG
'that he forgot that hat of his'

The participant *ekofiya* 'hat' is mentioned for the first time here in the narrative and yet is referred to by a DEM+NP+POSS expression. The introduction by means of a 'that hat of his' phrase could imply that the hat is inferred, similar to the recipe ingredients discussed Section 8.2.

9.4.1.3 Object ellipsis

In the following set of sentences, we can see an example of object ellipsis. In this example, the object in question is mentioned in the preceding clause (43a) and is therefore very active. The speaker then simply drops it rather than referring back to it with a full NP or a pronoun in line b.

(43) a. *A-ho-cisa i-khwiyeri,*
SM1-PRF.CJ-take 9-spoon
'She took a spoon,'

b. *a-ho-ttikhela mumkhu-ni*
SM1-PRF.CJ-put plate-LOC
'she puts (it) on the plate.'

This has been said to be a common strategy for Makhuwa. Indeed, if we compare the overall number of instances of zero-anaphora to Swahili, it appears higher. When looking at the distribution of expressions in Makhuwa overall, however, it is clear that it is used just as much as NP or NP+DEM expressions. A further pattern emerges when considering each genre separately as the situation changes substantially. In the Pear Story, object ellipsis does not stand out compared to other expressions used, showing

the balanced, three-way alternation with NP and NP+DEM – especially in O1 contexts. The conditions that define this alternation remain to be seen. When looking at the recipe sample texts, however, object ellipsis gains importance as the clear expression of choice - especially for O1 contexts. This fits with our discussion of genre specific features, where a high occurrence of object ellipsis in recipe styles can be observed. There is also an interesting pattern of zero-anaphora used for accessible aggregation referents, i.e. denoting a group of referents from previous discourse. In fact, this seems also to be a genre specific strategy, as a similar phenomenon has been observed for example for English. Brown and Yule (1983:175-6) note that a strict indexing of ellipsis to specific textual antecedent breaks down. They suggest that readers expand gaps of this kind pragmatically, by filling the gap as approximately as possible on the textual evidence available together with what is known of the real world. Returning to the problem in referential terms at a later point, they add that the reader has to 'associate changes of state with the referent and to carry them (or some of them) through discourse'. This is a reasonable characterization of reader strategy. It can be readily applied to similar gaps: 'season [everything in the pan] with salt and pepper' (Wilson 2014: 182). This fits with examples from the Makhuwa recipe which have been labelled aggregational as the missing object refers to a mixture of previous ingredients, for which there is no one word, but which are accessible from contextual evidence – similar to what Wilson (2014) describes above. Below is an example of this from the Makhuwa recipe.

(44) a. *ph-weex-eehu* *n-sufurin'ya-ni* |
NARR-put-POSS.1PL 18-pot-LOC
'and then we put (mathapa) in the pot,'

b. *weexa veekho* |
INF.put on.the.fire
'put (it) on the fire'

Here, in line b) the omitted referent implies the pot with all the ingredients that have been added to it so far, like the English example in Wilson's (2014) quote above. Similarly, in one of the Makhuwa recipes, a new participant obvious from the past

discourse is seemingly introduced by null reference expressions, i.e. being omitted.

(45) *ph-aants-eehu* *w-ootwa* |
NARR-start-POSS.1PL INF-stir
'and then we start to stir (it)'

The unexpressed object of the stirring event refers to a mixture of ingredients that was gradually added to the pot and is now on the stove cooking. Even though this mixture (in the present version) has not been mentioned yet, its ingredients have. Therefore, as with the previous example, rather than considering it a new participant this can rather be seen as an accessible aggregation type of reference. Considering this factor, omitting this referent which is clear from context therefore does not seem so unusual. Other instances from Makhuwa recipes also involve other verbs, such as *waapula* 'take off the fire' always referring to whatever ingredients have been put in so far.

9.4.1.4 NP

NP as a tracking strategy is relevant only for noun class 1 and 2 referents as nouns from class 1 and 2 will obligatorily occur with the corresponding OM. For non-class 1 and 2 participants, NPs appear in a wide variety of contexts with no clear tendency for one environment over another. As the use of NPs for introducing new or inferred referents, as well as denoting less active participants (context O4), follows already discussed patterns, this section will survey a few examples of the least expected type: O1 contexts. One such example is presented below.

(46) a. *Halafu ni-ka-tia* *ma-futa* ||
after SM1SG-SUBS-pour 6-oil
'Then I poured the oil'

b. *ni-li-po-tia* *ma-futa* | *(...)*
SM1SG-PST-OM16-pour 6-oil
'When I poured the oil'

In this example, made up of two IU across a paragraph boundary, we recognise the pattern from previous discussions identified as tail-head linking. The main feature of

this structure is exactly the repetition of the lexical referent (line b) further imposed by the paragraph boundary. On closer inspection of the sample texts, other instances of NPs in O1 contexts occur in tail-head linking structures but many occurrences of this referring expression still need to be explained.

Despite this overview of referring expressions and certain contexts in which they occur, many alternations remain unexplained. The following section therefore investigates a particular case of NP/zero-anaphora alternation, the most common in our distribution results, to better understand the Makhuwa object tracking paradigm.

9.4.2 Object ellipsis vs. lexical repetition

In Makhuwa texts, despite the lower referential density, certain unexpected repetition of full NPs or NP+DEM are found in environments where one might expect the object to be omitted as it is clear from context and unambiguous. Consider the following example from the MPI videos commentary.

(47) a. *M-meca-ni ya-havo e-parato, vano mw-anthiyana ule*
18-table-LOC 9-there.is 9-plate so 1-woman 1DEMIII
phwi-xis-aka maritelu
NARR-hold-DUR 3.hammer
'on the table there is a plate, well that women holds a hammer,'

b. *a-xisa-ka maritelu ole, o-hiyaka maritelu*
SM1-take-DUR 3.hammer 3.DEMIII NARR.INF-drop 3.hammer
ole vekawe, omoraka maritelu oyo,
3.DEMIII down, SM3-fall-DUR 3.hammer 3.DEMII
'she took that hammer, she drops that hammer down, it falls that hammer.'

In this example, the referent *maritelu* 'hammer' is repeated as a lexical NP numerous times in subsequent clauses (47b). Considering that it is always in the object position, without any interfering participants, and it is entirely clear from the context, one might expect the object to be omitted. It has to be noted that this extract is taken from the commentary type of description of MPI videos and the type of text has been attested to influence referent tracking references.

However, if we recall a similar example from a Swahili commentary text, an interesting parallel can be drawn. The Swahili example (40) was taken from the commentary of the Pear Story and it had a surprisingly high occurrence of OMs in O1 contexts in subsequent clauses, where in corresponding retelling type of texts objects were often omitted in such environments. This has been attributed to the possible hypothesis on the subsequent importance of the referent. Since in the commentary type of texts the future importance of the participants is unknown, it cannot be considered less important (or finished with for that part of discourse) and therefore it is not omitted. Our Makhuwa example with the hammer appears to follow exactly the same pattern. As the importance of the referent is unsure, the speaker does not choose to omit it but rather to express it with a repetition of the lexical NP. The fact that the referring expression used is an NP rather than an OM (as in the Swahili example) stems from the unavailability of OMs for classes other than 1 and 2 in Makhuwa.

This hypothesis is applied also to another example, this time from the retelling of the Pear Story, which, too, has a parallel in the Swahili data. Example (48) describes an episode in which the boy loses his hat and a group of other boys picks it up and returns it to him.

(48) a. *tootho axi-lopwana pho-ona-aya* |
also 2.DIM-man NARR-see-POSS2
'Also the men saw'

b. *wiira ho-liyala ele ekofiy'-awe* |
COMP SM1.PRF.CJ-forget 9.DEMIII 9.hat-POSS3SG
'that he forgot that hat of his'

c. *Ph-aa-cis-aya ekofiyo*
NARR-PST-pick.up-POSS2 9.hat
'They picked up the hat,'

d. *ph-aa-rwa-aya n-mahaa uwara ekofiyo awe*
NARR-PST-go-POSS2 OM1-give INF.wear 9.hat 9.POSS.1
'they went to give(it) to him to wear his hat.'

The participant *ekofiyo* 'hat' is first introduced by a DEM+NP+POSS as already discussed in Section 9.3.1. However, as the paragraph goes on, the hat continues to be

referred to by a full NP (48c) and (48d). Considering what we have established about object drop in Makhuwa one might expect a given referent to be dropped as it is a continuing topic and would be easily understood from context. In contrast its numerous repetitions raise the question of why a full NP is chosen. However, if the subsequent importance factor is considered, here too, it appears that the reference by NP is due to the following mentioning of the referent in the coming discourse. Its importance for the following discourse is further confirmed by the start of the next paragraph, also encompassing a mention to the hat (example x).

(49) *W-aa-rwa-aya n-maha ekofiyo-awe* (...)
NARR-PST-go-POSS2 OM1-give 9.hat-9.POSS.1
'When they went to give him the hat (...)'

Moreover, a parallel example describing the same episode, exists in the Swahili data (11) and was discussed in Section 9.3.3. In the example, repeated below for clarity, after being mentioned by an OM+ lexical NP, the referent 'hat' is referred to by an OM and finally omitted when it is mentioned for the last time (in the Swahili version no more mentions to the hat are made in the following paragraph).

(50) a. *wale vijana wa-na-i-ona kofia yake* |
2.DEMIII 8.youth SM2-PRS-OM9-see 9.hat 9.POSS.1
'those boys see his hat'

b. *I-me-anguka chini* | *Kwa hiyo*
SM9-PRF-fall down . For this
'it has fallen down. Therefore'

c. *wa-na-i-okota* |
SM2-PRS-OM9-pick.up SM2-PRS-OM1-return PRO.3SG
wa-na-m-rejeshea yeye tena
again
'They pick it up, they return (it) to him again.'

Therefore, the use of an OM in the Swahili example (50c) due to the further importance of the referent in this episode, supports the hypothesis that the subsequent mention of this referent by lexical NPs in the Makhuwa extract occurs due to similar conditions. It is important to remember, however, that the Makhuwa examples, just like in the case

of Swahili, represent individual speakers' choice of packaging of information in the narrative rather than a predictable language pattern.

9.4.3 Makhuwa object tracking: a summary

Makhuwa's patterns of referring expressions used to track objects in discourse confirmed some of the expected occurrences as well as patterns discussed for referent tracking more generally. Object referents are introduced mostly by NPs (or in combination with DEM) and only about half of the participants appeared for the first time in object position. This confirms that in Makhuwa, too, introduction of new participants as subjects, is just as common, despite the expectations - as discussed for Swahili. Demonstratives combine with NPs to denote referents, and the use of this strategy shows complexities which require future research.

Object drop occurs as predicted for Makhuwa, but it is possible only within certain discourse conditions. Object drop appears to never occur at the beginning of an intonation sentence suggesting that it is necessary to re-introduce referents every time a new IS or paragraph starts. This also depends on the discourse topicality of the referent. Object ellipsis also occurs more often when the referent is not mentioned again within the same IS. This could be linked to the way referents are coded depending on their prominence in the upcoming discourse. This means that they are omitted if low importance for the next part of the text is expected. In other words, the speaker seems to choose a full NP rather than zero-anaphora if she/he is expecting to refer to the participant in the next few clauses.

9.5 Comparison of referents tracking strategies for objects in Makhuwa and Swahili

Swahili and Makhuwa exhibit a complex system of referent tracking when object participants are referred to throughout texts. Object marking plays an important role in both systems, although to varying extents due to the very different morphologi-

cal paradigms in the languages. Despite this difference, many common patterns were found in the discourse of Swahili and Makhuwa and the availability of comparable texts was shown to be a crucial resource.

For animate participants in Swahili and class 1 and 2 participants in Makhuwa, a fairly simple system of introduction by OM+NP(+DEM) and a subsequent mention by OM emerged, in line with the expectations based on previous research such as Givón's (1983) phonological scale of coding. In both languages, however, OM+NP(+DEM) was also found in certain contexts to denote participants already present in the discourse. This does not conform to Givón's (1983) scale as heavy coding is used for accessible referents. When taking into consideration other discourse factors such text structure, discourse topicality and activation status, these seemingly odd example are explained. OM+NP(+DEM) was found to be used for less accessible referents, such as those divided by paragraph boundaries from their antecedent or examples where interfering participants disrupt the progression of coding.

It is, however, inanimate and non-class 1 and 2 referents in Swahili and Makhuwa respectively which brought up the most interesting patterns worthy of future study. This is particularly true for referring expressions alternating in O1 contexts in both languages, i.e. when the referent was given, active and unambiguously clear. It appears that object ellipsis is possible in both languages in such an environment. However, in Swahili this often alternates with an OM while in Makhuwa with an overt lexical, co-referential NP, often the very same NP as the antecedent.After a close inspection of the surrounding discourse, a hypothesis has been formulated which sees this alternation as affected by the subsequent importance of the referent.

To summarise, it appears that for given active referents in Makhuwa there is only a binary choice in terms of reference tracking strategies, where either the object is omitted or it is expressed by a lexical NP (sometimes combined with DEM). The repetition of lexical NPs in certain contexts seems to occur consistently when in the Swahili parallel an OM is used. On the other hand, when the object is omitted in Makhuwa, it is often omitted also in Swahili. Based on the present study, it is postulated that the

alternation OM vs. object drop in Swahili and lexical NP vs. object drop in Makhuwa might be linked to the subsequent importance (or the speaker's assessment of it) of the referent within the rest of the paragraph/discourse.

Therefore, from the study of the collected texts it seems that the difference in the morphosyntax of the object marking paradigms affects the discourse strategies of the two languages, at least in our data. The (non-)availability of OMs creates a possible difference in the strategies used for the tracking of object referents in discourse in certain environments. For Swahili inanimate referents a gradual coding progression (NP>OM>0) in line with Givòn's (1983) scale exists. This means that a given active referent can be denoted both by OM and zero-anaphora. But for Makhuwa only NPs and zero anaphora can alternate in denoting active given referents.

As a consequence, a pattern emerged where active given referents are expressed by lexical NPs in several subsequent clauses in the Makhuwa data. This does not follow the prediction based Givòn (1983) that the more accessible a topic is, the less phonological weight its referring expression tends to have. It might therefore be necessary to rethink and reformulate these cross-linguistic formulated tendencies to include a number of additional discourse factors which influence the coding of referents in texts. The analysis of our collected data shows a potential link to one of these possible factors, namely the importance of a referent in the future discourse. Other factors which were found to affect referent coding strategies are discourse topicality, activation status and text structure.

Chapter 10

Conclusions and considerations

10.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate the link between the use of object marking and discourse in two Bantu languages: Swahili and Makhuwa. Despite the fact that the morphosyntax of object marking in Bantu languages has been widely studied (e.g. Baker 2008, Riedel 2009, Marten and Kula 2012), a gap in the existing literature exists with regards to its use in discourse (cf. Seidl & Dimitriadis 1997). Following often made proposals that OMs are used anaphorically to denote a previously mentioned referents (e.g. Bearth 2003), questions emerged of how to account for the use of OMs in alternation with other referring expressions in such environments.

In order to fill this gap, two languages were studied - structurally similar, but with significantly different paradigms of object marking. While Swahili has a complex system of object markers corresponding to 15 noun classes, in Makhuwa object markers exist only for classes 1 and 2.

By collecting and comparing original data from Makhuwa-Meeto and Swahili, this study has identified a number of discourse factors which interact with the occurrence of OMs including activation status, text structure and discourse topicality. In this way this study highlights the need for a more comprehensive understanding of object marking including aspects of morphosyntax, semantics, information structure but also discourse.

This concluding chapter is structured as follows: Firstly, key findings are presented. These include discourse features of Makhuwa and Swahili texts, patterns of referent tracking in the two languages and a summary of all the main factors found to interact with object marking, including discourse. Secondly, the contribution of the present study for the field of Bantu linguistics is discussed as well as for the field of linguistics more generally. Lastly, some of the limitations of this study are acknowledged and suggestions are made for possible further research stemming from the results of the present study.

10.2 Key findings and main contributions

The key findings of the study are presented in two parts and relevant research questions set at the beginning of this thesis are addressed in each of them. The first part discusses important features of Makhuwa and Swahili texts described in this study. As object marking was studied within the context of participant tracking, many discourse elements such as prosodic text structuring, referential density and general referent tracking strategies employed in the languages were uncovered.

The second part presents the main findings on object marking, bringing together syntactic and semantic patterns found in this study with the most important discourse factors which have been found to influence the occurrence of OMs. These include text structuring, the activation status of referents, discourse typicality and topic chains.

10.2.1 Discourse features in Makhuwa and Swahili

This section summarises the main findings on the general discourse characteristics of Makhuwa and Swahili based on the collected texts. As the field of discourse has not yet received enough attention within Bantu languages, this is an important contribution to the discourse studies of the respective languages.

10.2.1.1 Text properties

Chapter 7 described prosodic, semantic and grammatical properties of the studied texts, finding features of these languages not examined before. Important findings regard the way speakers group together chunks of information into intonation units, intonation sentences or paragraphs. Among the most important prosodic strategies to do this, is the use of pitch contours and pitch resets in both languages with an overarching pattern of falling intonation signalling completeness of a section. Sematic and pragmatic cues enhancing this have been identified, such as the use of conventionalised phrases to indicate a new temporal unit or the use of tail-head linking between the end of a paragraph and the start of a new one (as described by Longacre 1968).

10.2.1.2 Referential density

Among other properties of Makhuwa and Swahili discourse described in this study, the referential density of a sample of texts has been measured for both languages. This was done by applying Bickel's (2003) method of calculating the mismatch of overtly expressed to possible arguments developed for his study of three Himalayan languages. Results of this measurement in our sample reveal interesting correlations and stress the need for further study of this concept on a larger scale. Swahili's higher RD value of 0.93 points to a strong tendency to express most arguments overtly, while Makhuwa showed a lower RD of 0.78 and therefore a wider occurrence of argument ellipsis. This was expected for objects, as a possible implication of the limited availability of OMs markers for their reference and the acknowledged occurrence of object ellipsis in Makhuwa (Van der Wal 2009). However, subjects too turned out to be a relevant element for the difference in RD, as they were sometimes omitted as discussed in Chapter 7.

By comparing the resulting RD values with Bickel's three Himalayan languages, Swahili and Makhuwa have emerged as languages with high referential density, potentially pointing to their focus on participants involved in an event more than on the event itself as hypothesised by Bickel (2003: 733). How symptomatic this is of Bantu

languages in general remains to be explored in further studies.

Language	RD
Belhare	0.41
Nepali	0.47
Maithili	0.62
Makhuwa	0.78
Swahili	0.93

Table 10.1: RD values: cross-linguistic comparison

By applying the concept of referential density, this study has also contributed to the cross-linguistic comparison of such values which awaits further widening. Bickel (2003) stressed the importance of this cross-linguistic aspect in the conclusion to his study.

> "If the results reported here can indeed be replicated in other sets of languages, they could be highly significant for linguistic relativity research: it is likely that referential density not only is a property of discourse but also reveals more fundamental cognitive strategies" (Bickel 2003: 733).

10.2.1.3 Referent tracking system

In Chapter 8 this study has gone onto describing the referents tracking paradigms of the two languages, highlighting the many options employed by Swahili and Makhuwa to denote participants in a text. The environments in which different categories of expressions were found were described and analysed to create a picture of the discourse strategies of the two languages. The main findings are summarised here.

In analysing the occurrence of different referring expressions including lexical NPs, demonstrative and personal pronouns and subject and object markers (as well as combinations of these), various discourse factors have been considered. The importance of text structure was shown in relating referring expressions and their position in texts to the rest of the discourse. Moreover, the activation status of referents (Chafe 1994)

helped decipher some of the patterns as different referring expressions correspond to different types of referents.

One of the patterns that emerged from such an examination of the referring expression paradigms showed that no demonstratives are used on their own as anaphors and the use of personal pronouns in this way is also minimal in our Makhuwa and Swahili texts. And in instances where the latter are used, it is to express emphasis. It has therefore become clear that no higher frequency of demonstrative or personal pronouns is found in our Makhuwa texts as a result of the limited object marking.

When demonstratives occur, it is in combination with NPs and the use of this kind of expression has a wide variation across the two languages. However, a common patterned emerged from the texts of NP+DEM used to refer to well-established participant in discourse in both languages.

The use of lexical NPs has been linked to the introduction of new referents in this study. These new referents, expressed by lexical NPs, where found both in the subject and object positions – a pattern that has been debated cross-linguistically (see discussion in 8.3.2). However, a correlation between the use of lexical NPs and the re-introduction of referents at the beginning of new paragraphs has also been found. This is especially common in tail-head linking structures. The repetitions of lexical NPs for already established referents to signal a new discourse unit confirms a pattern found also in other languages (e.g. Fox 1987 for English).

Overall, despite being based on a small sample of texts, the study of Makhuwa and Swahili discourse features has brought to light many properties of the languages that have not been studied before. Describing such properties also forms the needed context to understand the (non-)occurrence of OMs in discourse summarised in the next section.

10.2.2 Object marking: a multifaceted phenomenon

The most important finding of this study is that the (non-)occurrence of object marking in Makhuwa and Swahili is determined by an intricate and complex interplay of

various factors, from many aspects of linguistics, and none of them alone is enough to understand this phenomenon.

Although this study focused on the discourse use of object marking, it is built on existing morphosyntactic research (presented in Chapter 3 and in Chapters 5 an 6 for the individual languages) as well as on studies connecting OMs to semantic and pragmatic factors.

During the analysis of the discourse use of OMs many of these aspects were encountered and considered in terms of their interaction with discourse factors. As a consequence, the summary of findings on object marking is presented below, divided by specific linguistic factors which were attested as affecting the use of OMs in discourse and emphasising the way they interact with each other.

10.2.2.1 Double object constructions

One example of such factors emerged in double object constructions where the animate recipient is object marked and the direct object is dropped (discussed in Chapter 9) as exemplified by the extract below.

(1) a. *a-ka-toa zi-le vazi za polisi* |
SM1-SUBS-remove 10-DEMIII 10.CONN police
'He removed those police clothes.'

b. *a-ka-mw-ach-ia rafiki y-ake* |
SM1-SUBS-OM1-leave-APPL 9.friend 9-POSS.1
'He then left (them) to his friend.'

The object of interest in this example is *vazi* 'clothes'. In the current paragraph this referent is first expressed by DEM+NP (line a) and subsequently dropped in the next clause (line b). In Swahili, this ellipsis, however, interacts with the fact that it occurs in a double object construction where the OM slot is taken up by the animate recipient object and the object *vazi* 'clothes' cannot be expressed by an OM on the verb.

If there is only one OM slot taken up by the primary animate object, there could be an expectation of the secondary theme object to be expressed overtly or by a pronoun. The opposite appears to be true in the collected text as the second object is often left

out. A comparison with languages that allow multiple OMs in the future might bring additional insights into this pattern.

10.2.2.2 Transitivity

Further syntactic-semantic phenomena interacting with the discourse use of OMs also regarded the non-occurrence of OM or more precisely its alternation with object ellipsis. To exemplify a typical instance of such an alternation, consider the question-answer pair below.

(2) a. *Q: Je, u-mesha-nunua ndizi?*
Q SM2SG-PRF-buy 10.banana
'Have you bought bananas?'

b. *A1: Ndiyo ni-mesha-nunua tangu jana.*
yes SM1SG-PRF-buy since yesterday
'Yes, I bought (some/them) yesterday.'

c. *A2: Ndiyo ni-mesha-zi-nunua tangu jana.*
yes SM1SG-PRF-OM10-buy since yesterday
'Yes, I bought (some/them) yesterday.' (Marten 2013: 15)

If one compares A1 to A2, we can see that the referent *ndizi* 'bananas' is expressed by an OM in A2 but it is not overtly expressed in any way in A1 (although presumably implied in the answer). The answer in A1 is therefore considered an example of object drop in Swahili. However, when such minimal pairs are not available, evaluating an instance of object drop becomes more complex as such constructions are very closely intertwined with the question of transitivity. Our study has shown this in the following example from the Swahili Pear story.

(3) a. *Mara a-na-wa-ona wa-le vi-jana* |
time SM1-PRS-OM2-see 2-DEMIII 8-youth
'At the time when he sees those boys'

b. *wa-na-pita* |
SM2-PRS-pass
'they pass by'

c. *wa-na ma-tunda ya-le mkono-ni* |
SM2-have 6-fruit 6-DEMIII hand-LOC

‘they have that fruit in their hands’

d. *wa-na-kula* ||
SM2-PRS-eat
‘they eat (them).’

In (3d), the referent *matunda* ‘fruit’ is implied but not overtly referred to. In Chapter 9 we discussed the problematic status of this object ellipsis, as verbs such as *kula* ‘eat’ often occur in their ‘unspecified object alternation’ and have been considered “(...) not the most prototypical member of the class of transitive verbs” (Gerhardt 2013: 20). However, this study has made a case for an usage-based approach where similar environments are found within the text or in other texts by the same speaker to understand these example. A corresponding example to this Swahili extract is presented below.

(4) a. *Wa-na-kula ma-tunda y-ale* |
SM2-PRS-eat 6-fruit 6-DEMIII
‘They eat that fruit’

b. *wakati wa-ki-enda*
time SM2-sit-go
‘while they went.’

This IS involves exactly the same participants and the same verb, however, this time the referent *matunda* ‘apples’ is expressed by a NP+DEM - as a result of the start of a new paragraph. This therefore clearly demonstrates the choice of the speaker to - depending on other factors - omit or express the object of the verb *kula* ‘eat’. This is further supported by Bearth (2003:123), who mentions the Swahili verb *kula* ‘eat’ as an example of a typical two-place verb, i.e. taking two core arguments. Still, these examples show the complexity of such cases and the findings in the study suggest the need for further research into the effects of semantic transitivity on object marking in Bantu (see section of further research).

10.2.2.3 Locative objects

Another noteworthy pattern that emerged from the data is the way object marking is affected by locative elements. This happens in two ways. Firstly, as discussed in

Chapter 7, locative elements have an ambiguous status when it comes to argument structure. As discussed also in the literature (Riedel & Marten 2012), it is difficult to identify when a locative can be considered as argument and when as adjunct. What has emerged as further complexity of this topic in this study is the fact that verbs semantically implying a locative element tend to occur often in structure where those locatives are omitted. This is true for both languages as can be seen from the examples below.

(5) *(...) halafu tu-ka-tia vi-le vi-ungu vy-etu*
then SM1PL-SUBS-put 8-DEMIII 8-spice 8-POSS.1PL
'Then we put in all those spices of ours.'

(6) *weexa mw-aap'-ole*
INF.place 3-pan-3.DEMIII
'I place that pan'

In all these examples the verbs in the clause have the direct object overtly expressed, but, in addition they have an omitted locative element. In example (a) the onions are put into a pot; the referent *sufurinya* 'pot', present in previous discourse, is not overtly expressed. Similarly, in example (b) the pan is place on the fire, although the referent *veekho* 'on the fire' is not overtly present. This is despite the fact that the collocation weexa veekho 'to place on the fire' occurs many times in the text. Lastly, example (c) is understood as putting the coconut (milk) into the pot, but here too the referent mwaapuni 'in the pot', found in other parts of the text, is omitted.

This found pattern is therefore an important finding to include into future discussions on the ambiguous status of locatives in Bantu.

A second way in which these locative elements affect the occurrence of OMs in discourse is related to the previous point on double object constructions. Consider the example discussed in Chapter 7.

(7) *A-li-ku-weka katika vi-kapu*|
SM1-PST-OM17-put in 8-basket
'He put (it) in the baskets'

Here, the object marker *-ku-* corresponds to the locative class 17 and refers to the prepositional phrase *katika vikapu* 'in the basket'. Not only does this contribute to the discussion on what the status of these locative expression is, as this PP is object marked, but it also shows that consequently the 'syntactically prototypical' object *matunda* 'fruit' is not object marked or overtly expressed in any way.

Aside from the findings presented so far and before proceeding to the key patterns regarding discourse, it is important to note that the examination of newly collected texts in Makhuwa and Swahili has also confirmed some previously well-studied patterns and this is none-the-less an important contribution. These are discussed in different parts of the thesis and will not all be listed here. However, an example of such patterns is the presence of OMs when the object is left dislocated in Swahili and the obligatoriness of object marking with nouns belonging to class 1 and 2 regardless of semantic features in Makhuwa.

10.2.2.4 Discourse

The most crucial findings on the (non-)occurrence of object marking and connected referring expressions comes from the discourse analysis. From the present study it became clear that object markers exist within a complex system of referring expressions used to track participants in discourse. As a consequence, only the study of alternations with other expressions can bring out the additional discourse aspects needed to fully understand object marking.

Firstly, a significant outcome of the discourse analysis - even though sampled on a very small scale - is the distribution study of referring expression, which puts into comparative perspective the distribution of various referring expressions in specific context and for specific type of referents (new, given, etc.). This is an important way to look at the data and brings out many directions for further research.

In instances where object marking is obligatory (class 1 and 2 in Makhuwa and animates in Swahili), it is used for anaphoric reference both on its own and in combination with the respective NP. The alternation of these variants depends mostly on text

structure and the activation status of the referent as less accessible referents in these categories are often denoted by OM+NP, while referents active in the hearer's mind are referred to by an OM.

In Swahili, where object marking is optional (for inanimates) examples were presented in which features associated with OMs such as definiteness, specificity or topicality failed to predict their occurrence.

Even though many instances confirmed that OMs co-occur with lexical NPs only with already mentioned participants (which are more likely to be definite, specific, topical), it was the non-occurrence of the OM with definite, specific or topical referents which posed questions about these factors. In our study, a pattern emerged of OM co-occurring with NPs used to re-activate referents less accessible due to the distance between the anaphora and the antecedent or due to paragraph boundaries between them. A key finding from the distribution analysis regards the occurrence of OMs on their own in anaphoric functions. The distribution shows that OMs are used predominately to refer to participants mentioned in the close preceding context and in this kind of environment they are mostly in alternation with instances of zero-anaphora in our texts. Even just the wide-spread occurrence of object ellipsis in Swahili is an important finding, as this has only been mentioned in passing previous studies (Seidl and Dimitriadis 1997).

As for the alternation between OM and zero-anaphora, the importance of the position of the referents within text structure with possible links to subsequent importance (attested in other languages) has been suggested. It has to be noted that this does not predict the occurrence of OM vs. object ellipsis in all instances but shows a strong tendency worth additional investigation. This hypothesis is further supported by commentary type of text, where OMs are used significantly more as the relevance for future discourse of the participants is unknown.

The study of this alternation in Swahili informed the analysis of a corresponding alternation in Makhuwa. Namely, in the same environments where the antecedent was mentioned just before, the distribution analysis of Makhuwa revealed an alternation

between object ellipsis and the repetition of lexical NPs for objects of classes other than 1 and 2. Here too a link to the use of the referent in the following discourse has been attested. For the nouns of class 1 and 2, the corresponding OM is used.

As a consequence, it appears that within the referent tracking strategies in the studied texts the unavailability of object markers in Makhuwa results in an alternation between lexical NPs and zero anaphora, where in the corresponding environments in Swahili the choice is between OMs and zero-anaphora instead. Although this cannot be taken as a regular pattern as it is based on a very limited amount of data, it shows an intriguing tendency to use lexical NPs anaphorically which needs further investigation.

Lastly, discourse topicality emerged as a relevant factor as in both languages. Topical referents required lighter coding in contexts where other participants needed to be re-introduced by lexical NPs, such as after paragraph boundaries.

Thus, this study has shown the complexities and nuances of the use of object markers in Swahili and Makhuwa discourse. It has shown that in order to better understand the use of OMs a number of factors need to be considered in addition to the ones studied in the past. Syntactic and semantic factors play an important role since the transitivity of the clause, the status of locative elements as well as features such as animacy or noun class membership all interact in determining the occurrence of OMs. However, most importantly, this study emphasises the discourse factors which are essential to object marking and are often forgotten. Accessibility of referents, discourse structure of texts, discourse topicality as well as relevance for future discourse all need to be studied to better understand the distribution of OMs. None of these factors can explain the use of OMs on their own and all should be taken into account if a comprehensive examination of OMs and their use is to be achieved.

10.2.3 Contributions of this study

As has become clear from the previous section, this study made an important contribution to the study of discourse for Bantu languages. As the latter is an understudied field, this study contributed to the description of discourse features of Swahili and

Makhuwa and revealed some possible common discourse pattern for Bantu languages which emerged from the comparison of the two. The study also showed the importance of collecting primary data in less structured environments to be able to study the occurrences of morphosyntactic structures in their wider discourse context.

Within the discipline of discourse studies, this study has made significant cross-linguistic contributions by applying theoretical concepts such as the activation status of referents, Givón's (1983) phonological coding scale, discourse topicality, text structuring or Referential Density to the Swahili and Makhuwa texts studied. This resulted in the provision of more comparable data for typological discourse studies but also raised issues of applying these methods to Bantu languages, for example in relation to the status of locatives.

More widely, this study shows the way discourse factors are essential in accounting for structures such as object marking, commonly perceived as morphosyntactic phenomena. This is an important consideration as it points to a wider relationship between morphosyntactic structure and their function in discourse, which needs to be represented in the study of linguistic variation.

10.3 Areas of possible further investigation

In this last section, suggestions are made for areas of further research beside the overall need for a deeper study of the topic of object marking already mentioned

Future research can build on preliminary results gained from this study and pursue the questions and methods which emerged by applying them to a larger set of data. However, in recognising the limitation of using such a small sample this study also shows the importance of lower-scale pilot studies both to test methodologies as well as to point to the specific patterns which need further examination.

The aim of studying discourse of an undocumented language variety, such as Makhuwa Meeto, resulted in certain limitations in the data analysis on that part. On the other hand, it is exactly the study of Makhuwa and its unusual morphosyntactic paradigm that provided a wider understanding of referent tracking and object marking in Bantu

languages - something that would have been impossible had this study looked solely at Swahili. A direct consequence of the methodology used in collecting Makhuwa texts is the limited amount of data gathered due to time consuming fieldwork. However, this too has contributed an important element to this study, namely the relatively 'natural' discourse samples. Overall, further documentation and overall linguistic study of the Makhuwa language in the future might uncover other important features that can further inform the typological studies of object marking in Bantu languages.

Furthermore, considering the wide scope of this study and the multifaceted character of the phenomenon studied, even within an individual language level, more case studies on other languages are needed to generate overarching patterns and typological links.

What follows is an overview of three more specific areas of possible future research which stem from observation in this study for which there was no further space or scope.

10.3.1 Semantics

In our discussion of transitivity it has become clear that semantics represent a crucial factor to the study of objects and object marking. More specifically, this phenomena would benefit from a study focused on the semantics of verbs involved in object marking structures. A semantic categorisation of verbs along the lines of Lüpke's (2005) study for Jalonke might shed light on the type of verbs which are more likely to occur with object marking or, on the other hand, with object ellipsis in Swahili and Makhuwa. The need to include a 'semantic verb type factor' has been brought up also by Bickel (2003) in his study on RD which supports the possible link to the expressions of arguments.

> "Other variants that need to be considered and checked for are differences in the preference each language may have for using transitive or intransitive verbs in discourse and the ratio of semantically 'poor' to semantically 'rich' verbs. This is the difference between verbs which have a more

> generic meaning and are therefore compatible with many referents and situations (e.g. put, do, etc.) and verbs that have clear specific meaning and a limited range of referents compatible with them (e.g. carry-by-handle, grasp, etc.). This is connected to discourse strategies as Brown (2000) has noted that dropping NPs tends to be more common with semantically rich verbs than with semantically poor verbs" (Bickel 2003: 731).

Among aspects of this study needing further attention, semantics has stood out as a crucial factor with a strong influence on the phenomenon of object marking, especially in terms of transitivity. A semantic categorisation of verbs/clauses as well as a system of characterising participants with a range of semantic features could add an important layer to the understanding of the occurrences of the combinations of the two.

10.3.2 Foregrounding vs. backgrounding

Within the discourse aspects that should be considered to continue the study of object marking within discourse, the concepts of foregrounding and backgrounding appear a useful direction to take. Aside from the attested influence of these concepts on the morphosyntax cross-linguistically, observations made about Swahili and Makhuwa point to the relevance in the languages.

For Swahili, Bertoncini (1990) has studied the correlation of foregrounding and backgrounding with the TAM markers and found this discourse aspect influences the use of such markers in narratives. A number of times in her study she makes references to participants, noting, for example, that human subjects are the more frequent in the foreground. Moreover, she discussed the way participants are introduced into discourse when part of background information versus when they are part of the foregrounded events.

For Makhuwa, no similar study exists, but certain structural properties point to a situation where taking these discourse factors in consideration might prove relevant. In foregrounding and backgrounding many links are found to events that occur in the main clause as opposed to what happens in subordinate clauses. In Makhuwa we know

that this distinction determines, for example, the choice of negative markers which are different in main clauses and in subordination (Van der Wal 2009).

Furthermore, topic chains are often connected to main clauses or foregrounded events as they can be the scope of topic continuity, disregarding interruptions in the backgrounded events. Therefore, a study of the correlations of certain referring expressions with foregrounded and backgrounded parts of discourse might reveal this to be another additional element to affect their use.

10.3.3 The Makhuwa 'dialect continuum'

The last note on possible further research regards the Makhuwa Meeto variety analysed for this study. It is apparent from what has been said in Chapter 6 that a number of differences have emerged in this study between the recorded variety and the variety called Makhuwa Meeto in the available in SIL material and other publications. This encompasses varying aspects of linguistic structure, ranging from vowel quality patterns with respect to other Makhuwa varieties (i/e, u/o), to the abundant use of narrative infinitives, to elements of Swahili influence in the lexicon (e.g. *sufurinya* for 'pot'). Moreover, certain variations in pronunciation as well as in the lexicon have been perceived by speakers as differences between the 'countryside dialect' and the 'city' one.

The texts collected in the town of Munruebe outside Pemba show in fact more features similar to the previously documented Makhuwa Meeto. This seems to point to the Makhuwa spoken in Pemba as being the divergent one, with different influences possibly induced by language contact in a multilingual urban setting. Further research on this variety would contribute the documentation and categorisation of Makhuwa dialects and would be a useful contribution in the process of the on-going production of educational material in Makhuwa to use in local alphabetisation courses.

To conclude, this study has shown that object marking is not only a morphosyntactic phenomenon but that discourse factors are also needed to fully comprehend it and its distribution. This study has also shown the need for primary data in order to capture

the actual language use of structures, and in particular the need for contextualized data: The occurrence of specific structures in their surrounding context, rather than merely elicitation of isolated utterances, are needed to drive theoretical work. Moreover, this study has also demonstrated that examining less studied languages, such as Makhuwa, keeps pushing research in wider directions and challenges patterns accepted as typical of a certain language group.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1 : Annotated texts

Makhuwa recipe

Teresa phii-w-ale vaa **|** **(1/1)**
Teresa NARR-come-PRF.REL 16.PRO
'It was Teresa who came here'
wiira ntwe na-py-e ma-thapa **||** **(2/2)**
COMPL 1PL.come.OPT 1PL- cook- SUBS 6-mathapa
'said lets do mathapa.'

***

Phaa-tthin-eehu ma-thapa ale **|** **(2/2)**
NARR-collect-POSS.1PL 6-mathapa 6.DEMIII
'And when we collected those cassava leaves,'
o-mala **|** **(0/1)**
INF-finish
'we finished,'
o-hela nryawe-ni **||** **(1/3)**
INF-put 3.mortar-LOC
'and we put (them) into the mortar.'

O-tthupula **||** **(0/2)**
INF-pestle
'Pestle (them).'

Ph-weex-eehu n-sufurin'ya-ni**,** **|** **(2/3)**
NARR-put- POSS.1PL 5-pot-lOC
'Then we put (them) in the pot,
weexa veekho **||** **(1/3)**
INF.put on.the.fire
'put (it) on the fire.'

***

O-ttokottha ma-thapa ale **|** **(1/1)**
INF-be.cooked 6-mathapa 6.DEMIII
'Those cassava leaves are cooked.'
antexi **|** ***nhinaaya waapula*****,** **|** **(0/2)**
before, before INF.take.from.the.fire,
'first, before taking (it) from the fire,
o-hela n-ttesa **|** **(1/2)**
INF-put 5-peanuts
'add peanuts'
o-ttokotth-ela **||** **(0/2)**
INF-be.cooked-APPL
'it cooks together .'

Phaa-ttokotth-el-aya ***n-ttesa*** ***nne*** || **(2/2)**
NARR-be.cooked-APPL-POSS3PL 5-peanuts 5.DEMIII
'And then let it cook together with those peanuts.'

***

O-ttokotth-el-aya ***vale*****,** | **(1/2)**
INF-be.cooked-APPL-POSS3PL 16.DEMIII
'And then is cooked there
ph-waapul-eehu || **(1/2)**
NARR-take.from.the.fire-POSS.1PL
then we take(it) from the fire.'

Phaa-therekel-eehu ***e-sepol-eeh'-iiyo*****,** | ***aalyu-eeh'-oyo*****,** |
NARR-cut-POSS.1PL 10-onion-POSS.1PL-10.DEMII, 1.garlic-POSS.1PL-1.DEMII,
pimenta**,** || **(2/2)**
1.pepper
'And then we cut those onions of ours, that garlic of ours, pepper,'

Khweeli ***wa-ma(n)l-eehu*** ***vale*** | **(1/1)**
sure 16-end(PRF)-POSS.1PL 16.DEMIII
'For sure when we finish there'
phaa-hel-eehu ***e-tthus-ehu*** ***nnye*****,** | ***alyu'-le,*** |
NARR-put-POSS.1PL 10-thing-POSS.1PL 10.DEMIII, 1.garlic-1.DEMIII ,
piment'-ole**,** | ***ma-khura'le*****,** | ***maasatomaati ale,*** | ***raj'-ole*****,|(2/2)**
1.pepper-1.DEMIII, 6-oil-6.DEMIII 6.tomato.paste 6.DEMIII, 1.raja-1.DEMIII,
'we put those things of ours, that garlic, that pepper, that oil, that paste,that stock'
ts-ootheene ***o-hel-atsa*** ***mommo*** || **(2/3)**
10-all INF-put-PLUR 18.REDDEMII
'we put all right there'

***

O-ttokotth' ***e-tthu*** ***nnye*** | **(1/1)**
INF-be.cooked 10-thing 10.DEMIII
'those things are cooked'
ma-thap'-ale ***phee-tel-eehu*** || **(2/2)**
6-mathapa-6.DEMIII NARR-be.cleaned-POSS.1PL
'then we clean that matapa.'

Ph-wants-eehu ***w-ootwa*** || **(1/2)**
NARR-start-POSS1PL INF-stir
'and then we start to stir (it)'

Khweli ni ***n-rama*** ***ph-weex-eehu*** ***veekho*** || **(3/3)**
sure and 5-rice NARR-put-POSS1PL on.the.fire
'surely then we put also the rice on the fire.'

***

Nno ***mwe*** ***o-ttokotth-aka*** ***n-rama*** **|** **(1/1)**
17DEMI 18DEMIII INF-be.cooked-DUR 5-rice/
'here the rice is cooking/
kii-r-ek-e ***weexa*** ***mw-aap'-ole*** **|** **(2/2)**
SM1SG-say-DUR-OPT INF.place 3-pan-3DEMIII
'let me say to place that pan'
o-hel' ***e-kole*** **||** **(1/2)**
INF-put 9-coconut
'put the coconut'

w-eexa ***veekho*** **||** **(1/3)**
INF-place on.the.fire
'place (it) on the fire'

***

W-eex-eehu ***veekho*****,** **|** **(2/3)**
16-place-POSS1PL on.the.fire
'when we place (it) on the fire,
o-ttokottha ***e-tthu*** ***nnye*** **||** **(1/1)**
INF-cook 10-things 10.DEMIII
'those things cook'

Teresa phaa-hel- en'yu ***n-soro*** **||** **(2/2)**
Teresa NARR-put-POSS2PL 3-rice
'Teresa then puts the rice.'

Waa-hel-en'yu ***n-sor'-ole*****,** **|** **(2/2)**
narr-put- poss2pl 3-rice-3.demIII
'and when she puts that rice'
phaa-tow-en'yu **|** **(1/2)**
NARR-mix-POSS2PL
'and when she stirs (it)'
ph-wans-aya ***o-pwatuwa*** **|** **(1/1)**
NARR-start-POSS2 INF-boil
'it starts to boil'
phaa-hiy-en'yu **|** **(1/2)**
NARR-leave-POSS2PL
'then she lets (it)'
phaa-khuneel-en'yu **||** **(1/2)**
NARR-cover-POSS2PL
'and then she coverd (it).'

***

waa-khuneel-en'ye ***vale*** **|** **(2/2)**
NARR-cover-POSS2PL 16DEMIII
'when she covered there'

phaa-wel-ela-aya **|** **(1/1)**
NARR-come-APPL-POSS2
'and when it came up (rose)'
phaa-rukunux-enyu **|** **(1/2)**
NARR-stir-POSS2PL
'she then stirred (it)'
phaa-hel-aka ***ma-khala*** **||** **(2/2)**
NARR-put-POSS.1SG 6-coal
'I then brought the coals.'

phaa-ttokottha-aya ***nrama ole*** **|** **(1/1)**
NARR-be.cooked-POSS2 3-rice 3DEMIII
'and when the rice cooked,'
phaa-pul-eehu **||** **(1/2)**
NARR-take.away-POSS1PL
'then we took (it) away.'

phaa-ru-aka ***mpani*** ***mmwe*** **|** **(1/1)**
NARR-go-POSS1SG inside 18DEMIII
'then I went inside there'
o-phiya ***o-kawa*** **||** **(0/1)**
INF-arrive INF-portion
'arrived and portioned'

***

o-kawa **|** **(0/1)**
INF-portion
'to portion'
toko ***phaa-ns-aka*** ***wa*** ***Senti*** **|** **(1/1)**
from NARR-start-POSS1SG 1.CONN Sandy
'I then started from Sandy'
o-ro-kawa**, |** ***mi*** ***ni*** ***Teresa*****, |** ***n'-a-maama*****, |** ***n'a-num'wa Fiina*****, |**
INF-go-portion 1SG and Teresa, and-2-mother, and-2-mother.of Fina
ni ***Faatima*** **(…)** **||** **(0/1)**
with Fatima
'go to portion (for) me with Teresa, and mother, and Fina's mum with Fatima…'

***

N-oo-khal-ek-e ***va*** **|** **(1/1)**
SM1PL-PRF.DJ-stay-DUR-OPT 16DEMI
'And so we stayed here'
n-oo-rupal-atsa ***n-rama*** ***ni*** ***ma-thapa.*** **||** **(2/2)**
SM1PL-PST.DJ-be.full-PLUR 3-rice with 6-matapa
'we were full, with rice with matapa.'

Paasi ***vaavo*****, |** ***paahi*** ***vaavo.*** **||** **0**
enough 16REDDEMII enough REDDEMII(16)
'Enough here, enough here (this is it)'.

Swahili recipe

Basi, leo tu-li-pika pilau || **(2/2)**
so today SM1PL-PST-cook 9.pilau
'So, today we cooked pilau'

***

Kwanza kabla ya tu-li-vyo-anza | **(1/1)**
first before of SM1PL-PST-OM8-start
'Firstly, before we started'
tu-li-tayarisha vi-ungo vy-oote vy-a pilau | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-PST-prepare 8-spice 8-all 8-CONN 9.pilau
'we prepared all the pilau spices,'
tu-ka-vyo-weka tayari || **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM8-put ready
'then we get them ready.'

Yaani hu-wa bizari nzima | hiliki | m-dalasini | kila ki-tu. || **(1/1)**
that.is HAB-be 9.cumin 9. cardamon 3-cinnamon each 7-thing
'That is usually cumin, cardamon, cinnamon, everything.'

Vi-ko pembeni. || **(1/1)**
8-LOC aside
'They are there on one side.'

Tu-ka-tayarisha kabisa m-chele. | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-pepare completely 3-rice
'We prepared the rice,'
Ule m-chele tu-li-u-chukua | **(2/2)**
3DEMIII 3-rice SM1PL-PST-OM3-take
'we took that rice'
tu-ka-u-pepeta | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-scatter
'we then scattered it'
tu-ka-toa ule u-chafu 'ake w-ote. || **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-take 11DEMIII 11-dirt POSS3SG 11-all
'then we take away all of its dirt.'

Tu-ka-u-weka pembeni | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-put aside
'We then put it to one side'
na ku-u-chambua vizuri | **(1/2)**
and INF-OM3-clean well
'and tidy it nicely'
u-ka-wa tayari | **(1/1)**
SM3-SUBS-BE ready
'then it is ready'

u-ko ***pembeni.*** || **(1/1)**
SM3-LOC aside
'it is left aside.'

***

Halafu ***tu-ka-chukua*** ***nyama.*** || **(2/2)**
after SM1PL-SUBS-take 9.meat
'Then we take the meat.'

Ile ***nyama*** | ***i-li-bidi*** ***kwanza*** | **(1/1)**
9DEMIII 9.meat | SM9-PST-must first
'That meat, first it's necessary'
tu-i-safish-e | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-OM9-clean-SBJV
'we clean it'
kama ***u-na-kumbuka*** || **(1/1)**
if SM2SG-PRS-remember
'if you remember.'

Halafu ***tu-li-vyo-safisha*** | **(1/2)**
after SM1PL-PST-OM8-clean
'Then as we cleaned (it)'
tu-ka-i-tia ***tangawizi*** | ***na*** ***thomu*** | ***na chumvi*** | **(3/3)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM9-put 9.ginger and 9.cardammon and 9.salt
'we add to it ginger and cardammon and salt'
halafu ***tu-ka-i-weka*** ***jiko-ni*** | **(2/2)**
after SM1PL-SUBS-OM9-put stove-LOC
'then we put it on the stove'
ili ***i-iv-e*** || **(1/1)**
to SM9-be.cooked-SUBJ
'so that it cooks.'

***

Halafu | ***ni-ka-vi-katakata*** ***vi-tunguu*** | **(2/2)**
after SM1-SUBS-OM8-cut 8-onion
'After that I then cut the onions,'
na-kata ***vy-embamba*** ***vile*** ***vy-embamba*** ***kabisa*** ***vizuri***| **(1/2)**
SM1SG.PRS-cut 8-thin 8DEMII 8-thin completely well
'I cut them thin, this way nicely thin'
vile ***u-kaang-e*** ***baadaye*** || **(1/2)**
8DEMII SM2SG-fry-SUBJ after
'this way you fry (them) later.'

Halafu ***mbatata*** ***tu-na-kata*** ***kama*** | ***kubwa kubwa tu*** ***ki-asi*** ***vile.***||**(2/2)**
after 10.potato SM1PL-PRS-cut like | 10.big 10.big just 7-size 8DEMIII
'Then we cut the sweet potatoes like, big just about this size.'

***

Halafu | ***ile*** ***nyama*** | ***i-li-po-kuwa*** ***tayari*** | **(1/1)**
then 9DEMIII 9.meat SM9-PST-OM16-be ready
'Then when that meat is ready'
tu-ka-epua ***pale*** ***jiko-ni*** | **(1/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-remove 16DEMIII stove-LOC
'we then remove (it) from the stove'
tu-ka-weka ***pembeni*** || **(1/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-put aside
'we then put (it) aside.'

Ndo ***tu-ka-chukua*** ***sufuriya*** ***l-angu*** ***lile*** ***kubwa***
indeed SM1PL-SUBS-take 5.pot 5-POSS.1SG 5DEMIII 5.big
la ***pilau*** ***lile*** | **(2/2)**
5.CONN pilau 5DEMII
'Indeed then we took my pot that big one for pilau'
tu-ka-li-weka | ***juu*** ***ya*** ***moto.*** | | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM5-put on of 3.fire
'then we put it on the fire.'

***

Halafu ***ni-ka-tia*** ***ma-futa*** || **(2/2)**
later SM1SG-SUBS-pour 6-oil
'The I poured the oil.'

Ni-li-po-tia ***ma-futa*** | **(2/2)**
SM1SG-PST-OM16-pour 6-oil
'When I poured the oil,'
ni-li-po-pata ***moto*** | **(2/2)**
SM1SG-PST-OM16-get 3.fire
'when I got the fire,'
ni-na-chukua ***vile*** ***vi-tunguu*** | **(2/2)**
SM1SG-PRS-take 8DEMIII 8-onion
'I take those onions'
ni-li-vyo.. ***hivyo*** ***ni-me-vi-kata*** ***pale*** | **(2/2)**
SM1SG-PST-OM8 8DEMIII SM1SG-PRF-OM8-cut 16DEMII
'when I..this way I have cut them there'
ni-ka-vi-tia ***kwenye*** ***sufuria***| ***vi-tunguu*** || **(2/2)**
SM1SG-SUBS-OM8-put in 9.pot 8-onion
'then I put them in the pot, the onions.'

Tu-ka-anza | **(1/1)**
SM1PL-SUBS-start
'The we started'
ku-vi-kaanga | **(1/1)**
INF-OM8-fry
'to fry them'

***tu-ka-vi-kaanga* |** **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM8-fry
'then we fry them
***mpaka kama vi-me-lainika hivi* |** **(1/1)**
until like SM8-PRF-be.smooth 8DEMI
'until they soften like this.'

***

***halafu tu-ka-tia vile vy-ungo vy-etu* ||** **(2/2)**
after SM1PL-SUBS-put.in 8DEMII 8-spice 8-POSS1PL
'then we put in those spices of ours'

***tu-ka-tia zile* |** **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-put.in 10DEMII
'we then put in those'
***u-na-kumbuka hiliki, mdalasini, kila ki-tu* |** **(2/2)**
sm2sg-prs-remember cardamon cinammon each 7-thing
'you remember cardamon, cinammon, everything'
tu-ka-changanya pale | pole pole. || **(1/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-mix 16DEMII slowly slowly
'We then mix (it) there slowly.'

***

***Tu-ka-changanya* |** **(1/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-mix
'We then mix (it)'
***baada ya ku-changanya kila ki-tu* |** **(1/1)**
after INF-mix each 7-thing
'after mixing everything'
***ile.. nyama ni-ka-i-tia sasa kwenye sufuria* |** **(2/2)**
9DEMII 9.meat SM1SG-SUBS-OM9-put now in 5.pot
'that... meat I put in in the pot now'
***tu-ka-i-changanya* | *na vile vi-tunguu* | *na vile vy-ungo* ||** **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM9-mix and 8DEMII 8-onion and 8demii 8-spice
'We mix it with those onions and those spices'

***Tu-ka-chukua ile supu y-etu* |** **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-take 9DEMII 9.soup 9-POSS.1PL
'Then we take that soup of ours'
***ndo tu-ka-i-tia kwenye sufuria.* ||** **(2/2)**
indeed SM1PL-SUBS-OM9-put in 5.pot
'and indeed we put it in the pot.'

***

***Tu-ka-i-tia kwenye sufuria.. | letu* |** **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM9-put inside 5.pot 5POSS1PL
'Then we put it in the pot, our pot'

mpaka i-li-po-chemka. | **(1/1)**
until SM9-PST-OM16-boil
'until it boiled'
I-li-po-cheemka | **(1/1)**
SM9-PST-OM16-boil
'when it boiled'
u-ka-chukua ule m-chele | **(2/2)**
SM2SG-SUBS-take 3.DEMIII 3-rice
'you then take that rice'
amba-lo tu-li-u-chambua pale mwanzo | **(2/2)**
REL-5 SM1PL-PST-OM3-clean 16DEMIII first
'that we cleaned then at the beginning'
baadaye pend-e ku-enda ku-osha || **(1/2)**
after like-SBJV INF-go INF-wash
'after you might like to go and wash (it).'

Tu-ka-u-osha | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-wash
`Then we washed it'
ni-ka-tia kwenye ile sufuria ya supu | **(1/2)**
SM1SG-SUBS-put in 9DEMIII 9.pot 9.CONN 9.soup
`then I put (it) in that soup pot'
amba-yo i-li-kuwa na vy-ungu na kila ki-tu || **(1/1)**
REL-9 SM9-PST-be and 8-spice and each 7-thing
'which had the spices and everything.'

Halafu ni-ka-funika sasa. | **(1/2)**
after SM1SG-SUBS-cover now
'Then I covered (it).'

***

Ni-me-funika | **(1/2)**
SM1SG-PRF-cover
'I have covered (it)'
u-na-subiri | ***mpaka*** | **(1/1)**
SM2SG-PRS-wait | until
'you wait until'
ile supu na maji ya-na-po-kuwa ya-me-pungua | **(1/1)**
9DEMIII 9.soup and 6.water SM6-PRS-OM16-be SM6-PRF-reduce
'when soup and the water have reduced'
yaani kabisa hau-ya-on-i | **(2/2)**
that.is completely SM2SG.NEG-OM6-see-NEG
'that is until you don't see it at all'
yaani ya-me-kauka | **(1/1)**
that.is SM6-PRF-dry
'that is until it has dried'
ni-na-po-ona | **(1/1)**
SM1SG-PRS-OM16-see
'when I see'

ya-me-kauka sasa pale **|** **(1/1)**
SM6-PRF-dry now 16DEMIII
'It has dried'
u-na-bidi ***sasa*** **|** **(1/1)**
SM2SG-PRS-must now
'you now must'
tu-ka-punguza ***moto*** | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-reduce 3.fire
'we then reduce the fire'
tu-ka-toa ***m-kaa*** | ***chini*** ***ya*** ***jiko*** || **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-take.out 3-coal undernetah of 5.stove
'we then take out a charcoal from underneath the stove.'

Tu-ka-u-chukua ***mw-ingine*** | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-take 3-other
'We then take another'
tu-ka-u-weka ***juu*** ***kwenye*** ***mkungu*** | **(2/2)**
SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-put up on lid
'then we put it on the top of the lid'
mw-ingine ***tu-ka-u-weka*** ***chini*** ***kwenye*** ***moto*** | **(2/2)**
3-other SM1PL-SUBS-OM3-put down inside 3.fire
'then we take another one and put it inside the fire'
tu-na-fanya ***vile*** ***kama*** ***dakika*** ***tano*** ***hivi*** ***kumi*** || **(1/1)**
SM1PL-PRS-do 8DEMIII like 10.minute five 7DEMI ten
'we do this for five to ten minutes.'

baada **ya** **ku-maliza** **hivyo** | **(1/1)**
after of INF-finish so
'after finishing doing so'
na ***ni*** ***hii*** ***ni-ka-geuza*** ***m-chele*** ***pole*** ***kando*** **|(2/2)**
and COP 9DEMI SM1SG-SUBS-turn 3-rice slowly aside
'and it is this, I then stir the rice slowly'

***

halafu **ni** **basi** **tayari** **|** **(1/1)**
after COP so ready
'well, then it is ready'
tu-ka-u-pakua **|** **(2/2)**
sm1pl-subs-om3-serve
'we then serve it'
tu-ka-fanya **na** **kachumbari** **pale** **kidogo** || **(1/1)**
SM1PL-SUBS-make and 9.salad 16DEMIII a.little
'we then make a bit of salad there.'

tu-ka-la ***pamoja*** **|** **(1/1)**
SM1PL-SUBS-eat together
'We then ate together'

tu-me-furahi	**sana**	**leo**	**wallahi ||**	**(1/1)**
SM1PL-PRF-rejoice	a.lot	today	wallahi	

‘We had a great time today wallahi.’

Appendix 2

Appendix 2 : Participant data

Makhuwa participant data

GENDER	AGE GROUP	PLACE OF ORIGIN
female	51-70	Pemba, MZQ
female	21-35	Pemba, MZQ
female	21-35	Pemba, MZQ
female	35-50	Pemba, MZQ
female	51-70	Murrebue, MZQ
male	51-70	Pemba, MZQ
male	21-35	Pemba, MZQ

Swahili participant data

GENDER	AGE GROUP	PLACE OF ORIGIN
female	35-50	Zanzibar, TZ
female	21-35	Zanzibar, TZ
female	21-35	Zanzibar, TZ
male	35-50	Pemba, TZ
male	21-35	Zanzibar, TZ
male	35-50	Palma region, MZQ

Bibliography

Abdulaziz, Mohamed. 1996. *Transitivity in Swahili*. Köln: Köppe.

Afantenos, Stergos, Nicholas Asher, Farah Benamara, Myriam Bras, Cécile Fabre, Lydia-Mai Ho-Dac, Anne Le Draoulec, Philippe Muller, Marie-Paule Péry-Woodley, Laurent Prévot & others. 2012. An empirical resource for discovering cognitive principles of discourse organisation: the ANNODIS corpus. In *Proceedings of the Eight International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'12)*, European Language Resources Association (ELRA).

Amidu, Assibi A. 2006. *Pronouns and pronominalizations in Kiswahili grammar.* Grammatical Analyses in African Languages (vol. 27). Köln: Köppe.

Andrews, Avery D. 2007. The major functions of the noun phrase. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. 1: Clause structure, 132–223. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2nd edn.

Ariel, Mira. 1990. *Accessing noun-phrase antecedents*. London: Routledge.

Ariel, Mira. 1994. Interpreting anaphoric expressions: A cognitive versus a pragmatic approach. *Journal of Linguistics* 30(1). 3–42.

Ariel, Mira. 1999. The development of person agreement markers: From pronouns to higher Accessibility markers. In Michael Barlow & Suzanne Kemmer (eds.), *Usage based models of language*, 197–260. CSLI.

Ariel, Mira. 2004. Accessibility marking: Discourse functions, discourse profiles, and processing cues. *Discourse processes* 37(2). 91–116.

Ashton, Ethel O. 1944. *Swahili grammar (including intonation)*. London: Longmans, Green &Co.

Azar, Zeynep & Aslı Özyürek. 2015. Discourse management: Reference tracking in speech and gesture in Turkish narratives. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics* 4(2). 222–240.

Baker, Mark C. 1996. *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. Oxford University Press.

Baker, Mark C. 2012. On the relationship of object agreement and accusative case: evidence from Amharic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43(1). 255–274.

Bastin, Yvonne, A. Coupez & M. Mann. 1999. *Continuity and divergence in the Bantu languages : perspectives from a lexicostatistic study.* Annalen van het Koninglijk Museum van Belgisch-Congo: Reeks in 8 (vol.162). Belgique: MRAC, Tervuren.

Batibo, H. M., J. Moilwa & N. Mosaka. 1997. The Historical Implications of the Linguistic Relationship Between Makua and Sotho Languages. *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* 11(1). 23–29.

Batibo, Herman. 2005. *Language decline and death in Africa : Causes, consequences and challenges*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bearth, Thomas. 2003. Syntax. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, vol. 4 Language family series, 121–142. London &New York: Routledge.

Beaudoin-Lietz, Christa, Derek Nurse & Sarah Rose. 2004. Pronominal object marking in Bantu. In *Proceedings of the 4th World Congress of African Linguistics, New Brunswick 2003*, 175–188. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

Bertoncini, Elena. 1976. Swahili : situazione e problemi. In R. Corsetti (ed.), *Lingua e politica*, 181–195. Roma: Officina Edizioni.

Bertoncini, Elena. 1990. *The use of Swahili verbal markers in narrative and non-narrative literary discourse.* Working papers in Kiswahili. Ghent: Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Seminarie voor Swahili en de Taalproblematiek.

Bertoncini, Elena, M. Gromov, S.A.M. Khamis & K.W. Wamitilia. 2009. *Outline of Swahili literature: prose fiction and drama*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

Bickel, Balthasar. 2003. Referential density in discourse and syntactic typology. *Language* 79(4). 708–736.

Bickel, Balthasar, Bernard Comrie & Martin Haspelmath. 2004. *The Leipzig glossing rules. Conventions for interlinear morpheme by morpheme glosses*. Leipzig: Max-Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.

Boersma, Paul & David Weenink. 2016. Praat : doing phonetics by computer. `http://www.praat.org/`.

Bosire, Mokaya. 2008. *Sheng : The phonology, morphology and social profile of an urban vernacular*: University at Albany, State University of New York PhD.

Brandon, Frank Roberts. 1974. *The structure of the verb in Swahili.* Austin: University of Texas dissertation.

Bresnan, Joan. 1993. Interaction between grammar and discourse in Chichewa (Bantu). In *The Role of Theory in Language Description*, 45–60. Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Bresnan, Joan & Sam A. Mchombo. 1987. Topic, pronoun, and agreement in Chichewa. *Language* 63(4). 741–782.

Bresnan, Joan & L. Moshi. 1990. Object assymetries in comparative Bantu syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 21. 147–185.

Brown, Gillian & George Yule. 1983. *Discourse analysis.* Cambridge textbooks in linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buell, Leston. 2007. Evaluating the immediate postverbal position as a focus position in Zulu. In *Proceedings of the Annual Conference on African Linguistics (ACAL) 38*, .

Campos, Alaudino Joaquim do Rosário, Mahando Lúcia Sunate, Tiorenço Gervásio, Rafael José Gaspar Rachide & Lourenço Faria Nabil. 2010. *Vocabulário de Emakhuwa Emeetto*. Línguas de Moçambique. Nampula: SIL Moçambique.

Cassimjee, Farida & Charles Wayne Kisseberth. 1999. A conspiracy argument for optimality theory: Emakhuwa dialectology. *Penn(sylvania) working papers in linguistics* 6(1).

Centis, Gino. 2001. *Método Macua*. Anchilo/Nampula: Centro Catequético Paulo VI.

Chafe, Wallace. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time*. Chicago University Presse: Chicago.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1980. *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Cheng, Chin-Chuan & Charles Wayne Kisseberth. 1979. Ikorovere Makua tonology ; part 1. *Studies in the linguistic sciences* 9(1). 31–64.

Chimbutane, Feliciano. 2013. Codeswitching in L1 and L2 learning contexts: insights from a study of teacher beliefs and practices in Mozambican bilingual education programmes. *Language and Education* 27(4). 314–328.

Citko, Barbara. 2011. *Symmetry in syntax: Merge, move and labels.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, Stephen A. 2012. *Participant Reference in Narrative Discourse: A Comparison of Three Methodologies* (SIL e-Books 35). SIL International.

Contini-Morava, Ellen. 1994. *Noun classification in Swahili*. University of Virginia.

Contini-Morava, Ellen. 1997. Swahili phonology. In *Phonologies of Asia and Africa 2*, vol. v. 2, 841–860. Winona Lake IN: Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

Corbett, Greville G. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett, Greville G. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Costa, João & Nancy C. Kula. 2008. Focus at the interface : Evidence from Romance and Bantu. In Ceclie De Cat & Demuth (eds.), *The Bantu-Romance Connection : A comparative investigation of verbal agreement, DPs, and information structure* (Linguistics Today 131), 293–322. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations. The cognitive organization of information*. Chicago: Chicago UP.

Dabir-Moghaddam, Mohammad. 1992. On the (In)dependence of syntax and pragmatics: Evidence from the postposition -rá in Persian. In *Cooperating with Written Texts. The Pragmatics and Comprehension of Written Texts*, 549–574. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

Dalrymple, Mary & Irina Nikolaeva. 2005. Nonsubject agreement and discourse roles. In *Oxford Working Papers in Linguistics, Philology, and Phonetics*, 73–94. University of Oxford: Centre for Linguistics and Philology.

Dalrymple, Mary & Irina Nikolaeva. 2011. *Objects and information structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deen, Kamil Ud. 2002. *The acquisition of Nairobi Swahili : the morphosyntax of inflectional prefixes and subjects*. UCLA. PhD dissertation.

Deen, Kamil Ud. 2006. Object agreement and specificity in early Swahili. *Journal of child language* 33. 223–246.

Diessel, Holger. 1999. The morphosyntax of demonstratives in synchrony and diachrony. *Linguistic Typology* 3(1). 1–50.

Dimmendaal, Gerrit Jan. 2001. Language diffusion and genetic relationship: An African perspective. In Robert M. W. Dixon & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *Language diffusion and genetic linguistics*, 358–392. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dooley, Robert & Stephen H. Levinsohn. 2000. *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts. Online version.* manuscript.

Dooley, Robert A. 2007. Explorations in discourse topicality. *SIL Electronic Working Papers* 10.

Dooley, Robert A. & Stephen H. Levinsohn. 2001. *Analyzing discourse : a manual of basic concepts*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Downing, Laura. 2014. *Differential object marking in Chichewa*. Talk given at The diachronic typology of differential argument marking, University of Konstanz on 5-6 April 2014.

Dubois, Betty Lou. 1987. A reformulation of thematic progression typology. *Text - Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 7(2). 89–116.

Duranti, Alessandro. 1979. Object clitic pronouns in Bantu and the topiclaity hierarchy. *Studies in African Linguistics* 10(1). 31–47.

Duranti, Alessandro, E. Ochs & Talmy Givón. 1979. Left-dislocation in Italian conversation. *Syntax and Semantics* 12(Discourse and syntax).

Eastman, Carol M. 1971. Who are the Waswahili? *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 41(3). 228–236.

Fabian, Johannes, Kalundi Mango & Walter Schicho. 1990. *History from below. "The Vocabulary of Elisabethville" by André Yav: Text, translations, and interpretive essay*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1986. Pragmatically Controlled Zero Anaphora. In *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 95–107. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Linguistics Society Publications.

Foraker, S. 2011. Gesture and discourse: How we use our hands to introduce and refer back. In G. Stam, M. Ishino & R. Ashley (eds.), *Integrating gestures*, New York: John Benjamins.

Gerhardt, Cornelia. 2013. Food and language – language and food. In Cornelia Gerhardt, Maximiliane Frobenius & Susanne Ley (eds.), *Culinary Linguistics: The chef's special*, 3–50. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gernsbacher, M. A. 1985. Surface information loss in comprehension. *Cognitive Psychology* 17. 324–363.

Gernsbacher, M. A. 1989. Mechanisms that improve referential access. *Cognition* 32. 99–156.

Gibson, Hannah. 2013. Auxiliary placement in Rangi: A case of contact-induced change? *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 16. 153–166.

Givón, Talmy. 1983. Topic continuity in discourse: An introduction. In Talmy Givón (ed.), *Topic continuity in discourse: A quantitative cross-language study*, 5–41. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Good, Jeff. 2006. *Information structure and argument order in Benue-Congo*. Presented on the 30/01/2006 at the University of Buffalo.

Good, Jeff. 2011. *What are we trying to preserve? Diversity, change, and ideology at the edge of Cameroonian Grassfields.* London: Annual Public Lecture delivered at SOAS on 12th May 2011.

Grollemund, Rebecca, Simon Branford, Koen Bostoen, Andrew Meade, Chris Venditti & Mark Pagel. 2015. Bantu expansion shows that habitat alters the route and pace of

human dispersals. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112(43). 13296–13301.

Gundel, Jeanette K. 1993. Universals of topic-comment structure. In M. Hammond, E. Moravczik & J. Wirth (eds.), *Studies in syntactic typology*, 209–239. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Guthrie, Malcolm. 1948. *The classification of the Bantu languages*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.

Guérois, Rozenn. 2015. *A grammar of Cuwabo (Mozambique, P34)*. University of Lyon. PhD dissertation.

Gysels, Marjolein. 1992. French in urban Lubumbashi Swahili: Codeswitching, borrowing, or both? In Carol M. Eastman (ed.), *Codeswitching*, Clevedon, Avon. England: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Götze, Michael, Thomas Weskott, Cornelia Endriss, Ines Fiedler, Stefan Hinterwimmer, Svetlana Petrova, Anne Schwarz, Stavros Skopeteas & Ruben Stoel. 2007. Information structure. *Interdisciplinary studies on information structure* 7. 147–187.

Güldemann, Tom. 2007. Preverbal objects and information structure in Benue-Congo. In *Focus strategies in African languages: the interaction of focus and grammar in Niger-Congo and Afro-Asiatic*, vol. 191 Trends in Linguistics - Studies and Monographs, 83–111. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. & Ruqayia Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2013. Argument indexing : a conceptual framework for the syntax of bound person forms. In Dik Bakker & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *Languages across boundaries : Studies in memory of Anna Siewierska*, 197–225. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

HCS. 2004. *Helsinki Corpus of Swahili.* Compilers: Institute for Asian and African Studies (University of Helsinki) and CSC – IT Center for Science. http://www.aakkl.helsinki.fi/cameel/corpus/intro.htm.

Henderson, B M. 2006. *The syntax and typology of Bantu relative clauses*. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. PhD dissertation.

Henderson, B M. 2010. Chimwiini : Endangered status and syntactic distinctiveness. *The Journal of West African Languages* 37. 75–91.

von Heusinger, Klaus & Sofiana Chiriacescu. 2013. The Discourse structuring potential of differential object marking, the case of indefinite and definite direct objects in Romanian. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* LVIII(4). 439–456.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus. 1998. Documentary and descriptive linguistics. *Linguistics* 36. 161–195.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus. 2006. The challenges of segmenting spoken language. In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus Himmelmann & Ulrike Mosel (eds.), *Essentials of language documentation*, 253–274. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hinds, John. 1979. Organizational patterns in discourse. In Talmy Givón (ed.), *Discourse and syntax*, vol. 12 Syntax and semantics, 135–158. New York: Academic Press.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56. 251–299.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. The discourse basis for lexical categories in universal grammar. *Language* 60(4). 703–752.

Howes, Christine, Patrick GT Healey & Matthew Purver. 2010. Tracking lexical and syntactic alignment in conversation. In *Proceedings of the 20th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*, 2004–2009.

Huang, Yan. 2000. Discourse anaphora: Four theoretical models. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32. 151–176.

Hudson, Richard. 1992. So-called 'double objects' and grammatical relations. *Language* 68(2). 251–276.

Hyman, Larry Michael & Alessandro Duranti. 1982. On the object relation in Bantu. In *Syntax and semantics, 15: studies in transitivity*, vol. 15 Syntax and Semantics, 217–239. New York: New York/San Francisco/London: Academic Press.

Jaggar, Philip J. 1983. Some dimensions of topic-NP continuity in Hausa narrative. In *Topic continuity in discourse: a quantitative cross-language study*, vol. 3 Typological Studies in Language, 371–424. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jaggar, Philip John. 1988. Discourse-deployability and indefinite NP-marking in Hausa: a demonstration of the universal 'categoriality principle'. In Furniss Graham & Philip John Jaggar (eds.), *Studies in Hausa language and linguistics (in honour of F. Parsons)*, vol. 3 Occasional publ. in African languages, 45–61. London &New York: Kegan Paul; International African Inst. (IAI).

Katamba, Francis. 2003. Bantu Nominal Morphology. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu Languages*, vol. 4 Routledge Language Family Series, 103–120. London &New York: Routledge.

Katupha, José Mateus Múaria. 1983. *A preliminary description of sentence structure in the e-Śaaka dialect of e-Mákhuwa*. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. MPhil thesis.

Katupha, José Mateus Múaria. 1991. *The grammar of Emakhuwa verbal extensions : an investigation of the role of extension morphemes in derivational verbal morphology and in grammatical relations*. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. PhD disseration.

Keenan, Edward L. 1976. Towards a universal definition of subject. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*, New York: Academic Press.

Kipacha, Ahmad. 2004. KiNgome-English lexicon. *Swahili Forum* 11. 179–209.

Kiss, Katalin É (ed.). 1995. *Discourse configurational languages.* Oxford studies in comparative sytax. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kisseberth, Charles. 2003. Makhuwa P30. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu languages*, 546–565. London: Routledge.

Kisseberth, Charles & Farida Cassimjee. 2012. *The Emakhuwa lexicon exemplified*. manuscript.

Kisseberth, Charles W. 2010. Phrasing and relative clauses in Chimwiini. *Papers from the Workshop on Bantu Relative Clauses : [held in Paris on 8 - 9 January 2010]* 109–144.

Knappert, Jan. 1996. The Transmission of Knowledge: A Note on the Islamic Literatures of Africa. *Sudanic Africa* 7. 159–164.

Kotope, Líder Comunitário Akhulapa, Jacob Celestino Rahisse, Francisco Amimo Pihali, Benjamin Fernando Liua & John David. 2009. *Notas gramaticais sobre Emakhuwa-Imeetto.* Monografias Linguísticas Moçambicanas (vol.6). Nampula: SIL Moçambique.

Kramer, Ruth. 2014. Clitic doubling or object agreement: the view from Amharic. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32(2). 593–634.

Krifka, Manfred. 1983. *Zur semantischen und pragmatischen Motivation syntaktischer Regularitäten: Eine Studie zur Wortstellung und Wortstellungsveränderung im Swahili*. München: Wilhelm Fink.

Krifka, Manfred. 1995. Swahili. In *Syntax: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenoessischer Forshung*, vol. v. 2, 1397–1418. Berlin &New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Kröger, Oliver. 2005. *Report on a survey of coastal Makua dialects*. Nampula: SIL.

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*, vol. 71 Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Langacker, Ronald W. 2000. *Grammar and conceptualization.* Cognitive linguistics research. Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter,.

Lehiste, I. 1979. Sentence boundaries and paragraph boundaries – perceptual evidence. In P.R. Clyne, W.F. Hanks & C.L. Hofbauer (eds.), *The elements: A parasession on linguistic units and levels*, 99–109. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Leonard, Robert Andrew & Wendy Saliba. 2006. A semantic analysi of Swahili suffix li. In *Advances in functional linguistics: Columbia School beyond its origins*, vol. 57 Studies in functional and structural linguistics, 223–237. Amsterdam &Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publ.

Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1999. *NP references to active participants and story development in Ancient Hebrew*.

Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2000. NP references to active participants and story development in ancient Hebrew. *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, , University of North Dakota Session* `http://www.language-archives.org/item/oai:sil.org:40035`.

Lewis, M. Paul, Charles D. Fenning & Gary F. Simons (eds.). 2009. *Ethnologue : Languages of the world. Online version.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fenning. 2014. *Ethnologue : Languages of the world. Online version.* Dallas, Texas: SIL International 17th edn.

Longacre, Robert. 1996. *The grammar of discourse*. New York: Plenum 2nd edn.

Longacre, Robert E. 1968. *Discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure in selected Philippine languages. Final report. Volume I: Discourse and paragraph structure.* Santa Ana, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Loogman, Alfons. 1965. *Swahili Grammar and Syntax*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Lyndon, Chris and Ada. 2007. *Enatthembo : An appraisal of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors*. SIL Moçambique.

Lüpke, Friederike. 2005. *A grammar of Jalonke argument structure*. Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. PhD dissertation.

Lüpke, Friederike. 2006. Small is beautiful - the contribution of small field-based corpora to different linguistic disciplines. *Language Documentation and Description* 3. 75–105.

Lüpke, Friederike. 2015. Ideologies and typologies of language endangerment in Africa. In James Essegbey, Brent Henderson & Fiona Mc Laughlin (eds.), *Language documentation and endangerment in Africa*, 59–105. Amsterdam; Phildelphia: John Benjamins.

Maho, J. F. 1999. *A comparative study of Bantu noun classes* Orientalia et Africana Gothoburgensia. Göteborg, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Maho, Jouni Filip. 2001. The Bantu area: (towards clearing up) a mess. *Africa &Asia: Göteborg working papers on Asian and African languages and literatures* 1. 40–49.

Marten, Lutz. 2000. Agreement with conjoined noun phrases in Swahili. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere: Swahili Forum VII* 64. 75–96.

Marten, Lutz. 2002. *At the Syntax-Pragmatics Interface. Verbal Underspecification and Concept Formation in Dynamic Syntax.* Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford University Press.

Marten, Lutz. 2005. Review of Derek Nurse and Gérard Philippson, eds., 'The Bantu Languages'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68(3). 500–502.

Marten, Lutz. 2013a. *Discourse-bound object drop in Yeyi as a Khoisan contact feature*. Paper presented at the SOAS workshop on word-order, information structure and language contact in Bantu. SOAS, University of London, 1 Feb 2013.

Marten, Lutz. 2013b. *Linguistic variation, language contact and the new comparative Bantu*. Inaugural lecture delivered on the 18th April 2013 at SOAS, London.

Marten, Lutz & Nancy C. Kula. 2007. Morphosyntactic co-variation in Bantu: Two case studies. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 15. 227–238.

Marten, Lutz & Nancy C. Kula. 2012. Object marking and morphosyntactic variation in Bantu. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 30(2). 237–253.

Marten, Lutz & Jenneke van der Wal. 2014. A typology of Bantu subject inversion. *Linguistic Variation* 14(2). 318–368.

Maw, Joan. 1975. *Intonation in Swahili*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,.

Maw, Joan. 1992. *Narrative in Swahili: Sentence structure, intonation, and the storyteller*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

Maw, Joan & John Kelly. 1975. *Intonation in Swahili*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.

Mazrui, Alamin M. 2007. *Swahili beyond the boundaries: Literature, language, and identity*. Ohio University Press.

McEnery, T. & A. Wilson. 1996. *Corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McGill, Stuart. 2009. *Gender and person agreement in Cicipu discourse*. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. PhD dissertation.

Mchombo, Sam A. 2004. *The syntax of Chichewa* Cambridge syntax guides. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,.

Mchombo, Sam A. & Gregório Firmino. 1999. Double object constructions in Chichewa and Gitonga : A comparative analysis. *Linguistic Analysis* 29(1-2). 214–233.

McLuhan, Marshall. 1964. *Understanding media : the extensions of man*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

McNeill, D. 2005. *Gesture and thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meeussen, A. E. 1967. Bantu grammatical reconstructions. *Annalen van het Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika* 61. 79–121.

Mohamed, Mohamed Abdulla. 2001. *Modern Swahili Grammar*. East African Publishers.

Morimoto, Yukiko. 2000. *Discourse configurationality in Bantu morphosyntax*. Stanford: Standford University. PhD dissertation.

Morimoto, Yukiko. 2002. Prominence mismatches and differential object marking in Bantu. In *Proceedings of the LFG 02 Conference, National Technical University of Athens*, 292–314. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Mosel, Ulrike. 2012. Morphosyntactic analysis in the field : A guide to the guides. In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic fieldwork*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. //www.oxfordhandbooks.com/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199571888.001.0001/

Mpiranya, Fidèle. 1995. *Swahili phonology reconsidered in a diachronical perspective: The impact of stress on morphonemics and syllable structure*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2005. Globalization and the myth of killer languages. In G. Huggan & S. Klasen (eds.), *Perspectives on endangerment*, 19–48. New York: Georg Olms Verlag.

Mugane, John M. 2015. *The story of Swahili*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Murrell, Paul. 2012. The applicative construction and object symmetry as a parameter of variation in Kiswahili and Maragoli. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 30(2). 255–275.

Mwachofi, Ari Katini. 1987. *Mama ee*. Heinemann Kenya.

Ngunga, Armindo & Osvaldo G. Faquir. 2011. *Padronização da ortografia de línguas Moçambicanas : relatorio do III seminario*. Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos.

Ngunga, Armindo & Madalena Citia Simbine. 2012. *Gramática descritiva da língua Changana*, vol. 5 Nossas línguas. Maputo: Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA) - Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM).

Nicolle, Steve. 2007. Metarepresentational demonstratives in Chidigo. In R. A. Nilsen, N. N. A. Amfo & K. Borthen (eds.), *Interpreting utterances: Pragmatics and its interfaces*, 127–146. Oslo: Novus.

Nicolle, Steve. 2012. Semantic-pragmatic change in Bantu -no demonstrative forms. *Africana Linguistica* 18.

Nikolaeva, Irina. 2014. The narrative infinitive construction in French and Latin. In Hans C. Boas & Francisco Gonzálvez-García (eds.), *Romance perspectives on construction grammar*, 139–179. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Norrick, Neal R. 2011. Conversational recipe telling. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(11). 2740–2761.

Nurse, Derek. 2001. *Historical language contact in Africa.* Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika vol. 16/17. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Nurse, Derek & Gérard Philippson. 2003. Introduction. In *The Bantu Languages* Routledge Language Family Series, 1–12. London &New York: Routledge.

O'Grady, Gerard Nigel. 2003. Discourse Intonation and read aloud text: How intonation helps hearers contextualise unfamiliar monologue. *Journal of Research and Culture* 55–74.

Okoth Okombo, Duncan & John Hamu Habwe. 2007. Pragmatic strategies in the use of Kiswahili demonstratives. *Swahili Forum* 14. 81–88.

Palmer, Gary B. & Claudia Woodman. 2000. Ontological classifiers as polycentric categories, as seen in Shona class 3 nouns. In Martin Pütz & Marjolijn H. Verspoor (eds.), *Explorations in linguistics relativity*, 225–249. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Payne, Doris L. & Immanuel Barshi. 1999. External possession: What, where, how, and why. In Doris L. Payne & Immanuel Barshi (eds.), *External possession*, 3–29. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax : a guide for field linguists*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press,.

Perrin, Mona. 1978. Who's who in Mambila folk stories. In Joseph E. Grimes (ed.), *Papers on discourse*, Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Peterson, David A. 2007. *Applicative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pickering, Martin J. & Holly P. Branigan. 1999. Syntactic priming in language production. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 3(4). 136–141.

Polomé, Edgar Charles. 1967. *Swahili language handbook.* Language handbook series. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics; Office of Education, US Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare.

Prata, P. António Pires. 1960. *Gramática da língua Macua e seus dialectos*. Cucujães: Sociedade Missionária Portuguesa.

Prince, Ellen F. 1992. The ZPG letter: Subjects, definiteness, and information status. In William C. Mann & Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Discourse description : Diverse linguistic analyses of fund-raising text*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Riedel, Kristina. 2009a. Object marking in wh-questions in Bantu. In Akinloye Ojo & L. Moshi (eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 39th annual conference on African linguistics*, 67–76. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Riedel, Kristina. 2009b. *The syntax of object marking in Sambaa : a comparative Bantu perspective.* LOT Dissertation Series. Utrecht: LOT.

Riedel, Kristina & Lutz Marten. 2012. Locative object marking and the argument-adjunct distinction. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 30(2). 277–292.

Roberts, John R. 2009. *A study of Persian discourse structure.* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Iranica Upsaliensia. Uppsala: Universitet.

Rugemalira, Josephat M. 2007. The structure of the Bantu noun phrase. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics* 15. 135–148.

Rundell, Oliver. 2012. *A Comparative Discourse Analysis of Some Bantu Languages in Tanzania*. Middlesex University (UK). MA thesis (SIL International).

Russell, Joan. 1986. From lingua franca to national language: A re-examination of the origins of Standard Swahili. In *The Fergusonian impact: in honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the occasion of his 65th birthday: Vol. 2, sociolinguistics and the sociology of language*, 337–350. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sacramento, J. W. do. 1906. *Apontamentos Soltos Da Lingua Macua*. s.n.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1992. *A sketch of Swahili morphology.* Grammatische Analysen afrikanischer Sprachen, vol. 2. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1994. Kimwani at the southern fringe of KiSwahili. In Peter Bakker & Maarten Mous (eds.), *Mixed Languages : 15 Case Studies in Language Intertwining.* Studies of Language and Language Use, vol. 13, 239–244. Amsterdam: IFOTT.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 1995. Object diagnostics in Bantu. In *Issues in African languages and linguistics : essays in honour of Kay Williamson.* Special issue of Nigerian language studies, 173–180. Aba: National Institute for Nigerian Languages.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. 2003. Historical linguistics. In Derek Nurse & Gérard Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu Languages* Routledge Language Family Series (vol. 4), 143–163. London &New York: Routledge.

Schadeberg, Thilo C. & Francisco Ussene Mucanheia. 2000. *Ekoti : the Maka or Swahili language of Angoche.* East African languages and dialects. Köln: Köppe.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1994. *Approaches to discourse* Blackwell textbooks in linguistics. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schmied, J. 1993. Qualitative and quantitative research approaches to English relative constructions. In C. Souter & E. Atwell (eds.), *Corpus based computational linguistics*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2006. Linguistic annotation. In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus Himmelmann & Ulrike Mosel (eds.), *Essentials of language documentation*, 213–251. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Seidl, Amanda Hallie & A. Dimitriadis. 1997. The discourse function of object marking in Swahili. *Papers from the regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 33(1). 373–388.

Siewierska, Anna. 2001. On the argument status of cross-referencing forms. In M. J. Perez Quintero (ed.), *Challenges and developments in functional grammar* Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, vol. 4, 215–236. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Universidad de La Laguna.

Siewierska, Anna. 2004. *Person*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In Robert M. W. Dixon (ed.), *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 112–171. Canberra: Australian National University.

Sitoe, Bento & Armindo Ngunga. 2000. *Relatório do II seminário sobre a padronização da ortografia de línguas Moçambicanas*. Maputo: NELIMO.

Steere, Edward. 1906. *A handbook of the Swahili language: A spoken at Zanzibar*. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Stevano, Sara. 2014. *Women's work, food and household dynamics : a case study of northern Mozambique*. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. PhD dissertation.

Stucky, Susan U. 1985. *Order in Makua syntax.* Outstanding dissertations in linguistics. New York/London: Garland.

Thompson, Sandra A. & Paul J. Hopper. 2001. Transitivity, clause structure, and argument structure : Evidence from conversation. In *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure* Typological Studies in Language, vol. 45, 27 – 60. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://benjamins.com/catalog/tsl.45.03tho.

Tomlin, Russell. 1997. Mapping conceptual representations into linguistic representations : the role of attention in grammar. In *Language and Conceptualization*, 162–189. Cambridge University Press.

Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 2007. The syntax-phonology interface. In P. de Lacy (ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of phonology*, 435–456. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Staden, Miriam, Gunter Senft, Jürgen Bohnemeyer & N. J. Enfield. 2001. Staged

Events. In Stephen C. Levinson & N. J. Enfield (eds.), *Manual for the field season 2001*, 115–125. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.

Victorino, Aníbal. 2011. *Pequeno dicionário: Emakhuwa - Português, Português - Emakhuwa*. Maputo: Associação Progresso.

Vitale, Anthony J. 1981. *Swahili syntax.* Publications in Language Sciences, vol. 5. Dordrecht &Cinnaminson NJ: Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Van der Wal, Jenneke. 2006. Predicative tone lowering in Makhuwa. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 23. 224–236.

Van der Wal, Jenneke. 2009. *Word order and information structure in Makhuwa-Enahara*. Utrecht: LOT.

Van der Wal, Jenneke. 2010. Functions of demonstratives in Makhuwa narratives. *Africana Linguistica* 16. 183–213.

Van der Wal, Jenneke. 2011. Focus excluding alternatives: Conjoint/disjoint marking in Makhuwa. *Lingua* 121(11). 1734–1750.

Wald, Benji. 1979. The deveropment of the Swahili object marker: A study in the interaction of syntax and discourse. *Syntax and Semantics* 12. 505–524.

Wijntjes, Marie-José (ed.). 2014. *The webbook of African language resources. African studies companion online.* Michigan State University: Brill Online.

Wilt, Timothy. 1987. Discourse distances and the Swahili demonstratives. *Studies in African linguistics* 18(1). 81–95.

Woodward, H. W. 1926. *An outline of Makua grammar*. Hertford: Printed by Stephen Austin and Sons.

Woolford, Ellen. 1999. Animacy hierarchy effects on object agreement. In Paul Kotey (ed.), *New dimensions in African linguistics and languages* (Trends in African linguistics 3), 203–216. Africa World Press.

Zawawi, Sharifa M. 1979. *Loan words and their effect on the classification of the Swahili nominals*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Zeller, Jochen. 2014. Three types of object marking in Bantu. *Linguistiche Berichte* 239. 347–367.

Zerbian, Sabine. 2006. Expression of information structure in the Bantu language Northern Sotho. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 45.